SYSTEMS OF LAND ASSESSMENT IN SCOTLAND BEFORE 1400

Alexis Rachel Easson

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ABBREVIATIONS

Adv. Lib.	Advocates Library Collection
AgHR	Agricultural History Review
CG	Crîth Gablach
EcHR	Economic History Review
EHR	English Historical Review
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NTFS	Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap
POAS	Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society
PRIA	Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy
SRO	Scottish Record Office
TGSI	Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness
VCH	The Victoria County History of England
WHR	Welsh History Review

Other abbreviations used conform to the list of 'Abbreviated Titles' in SHR, 42 (1963).

ABSTRACT

The earliest recorded system of assessment of land (or other property) in Scotland is the house system of seventh-century Dalriada. By the time documentary sources become more readily available from c.1100 the house unit appears to have almost disappeared and between c.1100 and c.1400 documentary record reveals the existence of multifarious units of land assessment in Scotland. The principal units recorded during this period were the davach, the pennyland, the ounceland, the arachor and the ploughgate. The situation, however, is not as complex as it first appears. The basic framework for land assessment over most of Scotland, except the south-east, can actually be traced to the house system as recorded in seventh-century Dalriada.

As regards their derivation the various land units can be grouped into two broad classes, those whose terminology implies an agrarian meaning and those which appear to have had a fiscal meaning. Regardless of their derivation and their diverse origins, which tend to reflect the influences of different cultures at different times, by c.1100 or soon thereafter all the units were fulfilling a similar role in society. In an agricultural sense they created a structured framework within which settlement and arable developed. Fiscally they provided a base for the organisation of such fundamental prerequisites of early societies as military service and taxation. Both in their capacity as agricultural

and as fiscal units the various land assessments found in Scotland before 1400 formed an integral part of the agricultural, economic and military organisation of that society.

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work, and that no part of it has been previously published in the form in which it is now presented.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In any society where ownership and tenure of land are fundamental the study of land assessment systems which were used for levying such basic necessities of government as military service and taxation is obviously vital to an understanding of that society. This thesis attempts to uncover the older systems found in Scotland from the earliest recorded (the house unit) in the seventh century to those in use, or at least still recorded, at the end of the fourteenth century. In the period between 1100 and 1400 documentary record reveals the existence of various different units of assessment, the major ones being davachs, pennylands, ouncelands, arachors and ploughgates. It is with these units, as well as with the earlier house unit, that this thesis is concerned. Some appear to have belonged to the same system of assessment, some were simply sub-divisions of a larger unit, while others represented totally different systems. An attempt is made to establish the relationship, if any, of the units to one another.

Beneath the nucleated villages and large, open fields in some parts of the countryside of early-medieval Scotland and the dispersed settlements with their enclosed fields in others the land

assessment systems provided a structured framework within which settlement and arable developed. As well as in an agricultural sense so too in a fiscal sense these units occupied an important position acting as a base for the organisation of such fundamental prerequisites of early societies as military service and taxation.

Although perhaps at one time the subject of land assessment was considered the preserve of antiquarian specialists, recent years have witnessed a revival of interest in it as scholars have become increasingly aware of the wider applications of the subject to many diverse historical problems. It is an important topic not only for social organization but also for political history. Part of the cohesion of early societies depended upon their assessment systems and such systems obviously constituted an important prop for royal government. It is also important to know what kings were really doing when they were granting land in davachs or ploughgates, how much land they were in fact giving, for these issues are pre-judicial to the whole question of kingship.

The study of land assessments can also make a valuable contribution towards a greater understanding of the different ethnic and cultural origins of the various peoples who eventually came to form the kingdom of Scotland and go some way towards determining their relative positions of power and influence. The distribution of assessments

can be used to help illustrate population movements and settlement patterns in the early period. Land assessments are also useful for the light they can shed on topics which so far lack detailed studies, in particular the history of the development of military service in Scotland. Assessments are a particularly important source in the period before 1400, a period of Scottish history where much is unknown and for which sources are so limited. For these reasons, therefore, the subject of land assessment systems is undoubtedly one which merits investigation.

In the later nineteenth century the subject of land assessment systems aroused some interest among several scholars and received valuable contributions in particular from W.F. Skene, of whom it has been justly said, 'All those who condemn him use his books' and from Captain F.W.L. Thomas.[1] In fact one of the major controversies still raging today, that is the question of the origin

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1. W.F. Skene, Celtic Scotland (Edinburgh 1890), iii, 223-27; John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation, ii, ed. W.F. Skene, The Historians of Scotland, iv (Edinburgh 1872), Appendix, 449-55. The comment on Skene is taken from ES, i, p. lxxxviii. F.W.L. Thomas, 'What is a Pennyland? Or Ancient Valuation of Land in the Scottish Isles', PSAS, 18 (1883-84), 253-85; ibid., 'Ancient Valuation of Land in the West of Scotland, PSAS, 20 (1885-86), 200-13.

of the pennyland system of assessment, may be said to have begun with those two scholars. The interest shown in Scottish land units towards the end of last century is paralleled in England where a period of growing interest in land assessment is reflected by various works including Maitland's Domesday Book and Beyond and Round's Feudal England.[2]

However, although the importance of studying land units was recognised by various scholars of the late-nineteenth century the subject was to lie dormant in Scotland for a period of almost half a century until it was taken up by A. McKerral. McKerral wrote several articles on land assessments and these dealt primarily with the size of the various units and the question of their derivation.[3] More recently G.W.S. Barrow and A.A.M. Duncan have provided a greater insight into the whole question of assessment systems and have drawn attention to the complicating fact that

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2. F.W. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond. Three Essays in the Early History of England (Cambridge 1897). The references given in this text are taken from the Fontana edition (London 1960). J.H. Round, Feudal England (London 1895).
3. McKerral's most significant contributions include A. McKerral, 'Ancient Denominations of Agricultural Land in Scotland: A Summary of Recorded Opinions, with some Notes, Observations and References', PSAS, 78 (1943-44), 39-80; ibid., 'What was a Davach?' PSAS, 82 (1947-48), 49-52; ibid., 'The Tacksman and his Holding in the South-West Highlands', SHR, 26-7 (1947-48), 10-25; ibid., 'Land Divisions in the West Highlands', Proceedings of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society, 5 (1946-50), no. 2, 12-20; ibid., 'The Lesser Land and Administrative Divisions in Celtic Scotland', PSAS, 85 (1950-51), 52-64.

as far as land units are concerned things may not always be as they seem, a point which will be further highlighted by this study.[4] The scholarly analysis of the Senchus Fer nAlban by J. Bannerman revitalised the debate about the origins of the ounceland and pennyland units and of late there has been a growing tendency for scholars to concentrate on localised studies in an attempt to solve problems such as this.[5] One of the latest works published which refers to some of the land units found in the period before 1400 again centres on the problem of their derivation as well as attempting to examine the comparatively neglected issue of whether such land units formed part of a planned system or one put together in a piecemeal fashion.[6]

Thus, although the subject of land denominational units has attracted the attention of various scholars at different times over the last century none have felt

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4. G.W.S. Barrow, 'Rural settlement in central and eastern Scotland', Scot. Stud., 6, pt. 2 (1962), also published in G.W.S. Barrow, The Kingdom of The Scots (London 1973), 257-78; A.A.M. Duncan, Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom (The Edinburgh History of Scotland, i, Edinburgh 1975), 309-25.
5. J. Bannerman, Studies in the History of Dalriada (Edinburgh 1974), 132-46. Localised studies include J. MacQueen, 'Pennyland and Davoch in South-Western Scotland: a Preliminary Note', Scot. Stud., 23 (1979), 68-74; B. Megaw, 'Note on Pennyland and Davoch in South-West Scotland,' Scot. Stud., 23 (1979), 75-6; ibid., 'Norseman and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles: a Re-assessment of the Manx evidence', Scot. Stud., 20 (1976), 1-38; M. Bangor-Jones, 'Pennylands and Ouncelands in Sutherland and Caithness', St John's House Publication, University of St Andrews (forthcoming).
6. R.A. Dodgshon, Land and Society in Early Scotland (Oxford 1981), 73-89.

sufficiently inclined to tackle the question in its entirety. Admittedly each one has made some contribution towards solving the problems but the very nature of the inquiry has retarded the results and many problems remain unanswered. An awareness of the confusion and complexity presented by the various land assessments was shown in the nineteenth century when Donald Gregory wrote, 'Nothing is more perplexing in Highland charters and rentals than the various denominations of land which we meet with but as yet no systematic attempt has been made to produce a study which is both comparative and comprehensive'[7]. It is surely this approach which holds the key to unravelling many of the problems inherent in a country whose land was assessed by means of diverse units of diverse origins.

This thesis proposes to present an overall survey of the major units of assessment found in Scotland before 1400. In spite of the quantity of material which has been published on assessment systems one of the most vital questions, namely the origin of the various assessments, has not yet been satisfactorily answered. This is but one of the problems with which the thesis attempts to deal and a chronological framework within which each of the units evolved is suggested. Confusion and

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7. Coll. de Rebus Alban, 7.

controversy continue to permeate other key issues such as the size of the units and their geographical distribution. While some of the standard views on these topics will be reinforced by this study others will be challenged and alternative solutions will be put forward.

The best approach was considered to be a separate discussion of each of the units, that is the house unit, the davach, the pennyland, the ounceland, the arachor and the ploughgate and where possible the same questions have been asked of each unit. It has been necessary to treat the house differently because the source material relating to this unit dictates a different approach and this chapter concentrates on the house as a fiscal unit. Within each of the other chapters the major sections follow the same pattern. Firstly the geographical distribution is discussed; secondly, an examination is made of the unit in its agricultural capacity. This deals with matters relating to the size of the unit and whether it was a measure of arable or pasture. Thirdly, the fiscal capacity of the unit is examined in relation to matters such as rents and military service. The fiscal role of land assessments has been unduly neglected by earlier scholars who preferred to concentrate on the agricultural aspects of the units. Finally, the question of the origin of the units is discussed. Other points which have been considered are

the relationship of the units to the church and to larger territorial groupings (e.g. the thanage) but without further research on the early church and on territorial organisation the conclusions put forward on these subjects are, of necessity, very tentative. However, they do serve to indicate that both these areas are worthy of further research.

The thesis attempts to trace the history of land assessment systems in Scotland from the earliest recorded, that is the house unit of Dalriada which may be dated to the seventh century, to approximately the end of the fourteenth century. It was decided to select this date for terminating the study for several reasons. The choice was partly governed by a realisation that there was a limit to the period the thesis could hope to cover and partly because it was felt that through time the land assessments of the early medieval period may have become increasingly divorced from their original meaning and purpose but most significantly because, by the end of the fourteenth century, monetary assessments were becoming increasingly common and were replacing the older assessments to a considerable extent.

About 1390, James Sandilands and John Haliburton, both knights, granted to Thomas Cranston and his wife twenty merklands, namely the lands of Fallyness (Teviothead, Roxburghshire) and ten merklands in

Longniddry (Gladsmuir, East Lothian), namely the husbandland which Walter Renyson held, the husbandland which David, son of Michael and John Wilson held and the half-husbandland which Thomas Walker held.[8] Land assessments in pounds, shillings and pence also became common. In 1394 King Robert III granted to Sir Malcolm Drummond £40 sterling per annum payable from the great customs of Aberdeen until he was provided in a 40 poundland.[9] In 1377, Alan Stewart, lord of Ochiltree granted to Sir Henry Douglas 100 shillinglands in the territory of Longnewton (Ancrum, Roxburghshire).[10] Poundlands and merklands represented extents of land valued as worth a pound or a mark annually and care must be taken not to confuse these money values with the pennyland, the halfpennyland and the farthingland which clearly belonged to a different system of assessment.[11]

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8. SHS Miscellany, v, 35-7, no. 22; Miscellaneous charters edited from transcripts of the late Sir William Fraser. The husbandland was a subdivision of the ploughgate.
9. NLS Ms. Adv. 26.3.1 (Riddell Collection).
10. Mort. Reg., i, no. 5.
11. C. Innes once wrote '... it would be of great interest to ascertain when and by what authority, ... the western half of Scotland, ... was measured and valued in merklands, shillinglands, pennylands, farthinglands ...' (C. Innes, Scotch Legal Antiquities (Edinburgh 1872), 275). Whether the author meant to convey it or not he rather gives the impression that the merkland, shillingland, pennyland and farthingland belonged to the same system of assessment. Certainly McKerral believed Innes gave the wrong impression. McKerral, 'Ancient Denominations', 40.

However, both systems could be found in the same document. In 1361 King David II granted to John Kennedy and his heirs two pennylands lying on the north bank of the water of Girvan together with an annual rent of fifteen merks from lands in the earldom of Carrick which were to be held in feu and heritage until he should be provided with a twenty poundland within the sheriffdom of Ayr or a 40 merkland without the said sheriffdom.[12]

It has been claimed that in Scotland the money values of land - poundlands and merklands - are not found before the fourteenth century.[13] However, there is evidence of shillinglands and merklands at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Circa 1200, Alan, son of Walter the Steward granted to Robert Croc the land of Kilbride (Cunningham) for the 100 shillinglands he owed to the said Robert and in 1213 King William I granted to Robert de Aubein' twenty merks yearly until he should grant to Robert twenty merklands besouth Forth or between Forth and the Mounth.[14] Furthermore, the use of the poundland (librata terra) denomination is found as early as the twelfth century. About 1170 Robert de Quincy granted to Pagan (Pain) de Hedleia 'Aldenestun'

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12. SRO GD 25/1/4.
13. McKerral, 'Ancient Denominations', 61.
14. HMC 3rd Report, App. p. 386, no. 2; RRS, ii, no. 514.

and 'Ulkelestun' for seven poundlands and promised to make up for him three poundlands from the first increase of his estate of twenty poundlands.[15] Nevertheless, although money assessments were in use in the period covered by this study it has been decided for two main reasons not to include them. Firstly, the fact that they do not begin to become common until the end of the period precludes the possibility of a detailed study and secondly, money assessments represent a new departure in land assessment systems, being based on a completely different concept from those underlying the major assessment systems of the period before 1400.

No conscious decision was made with regard to geographical bounds. Instead a policy was adopted of selecting the various units and following where they led. However, although the northern isles of Orkney and Shetland did have some of the land units (ouncelands and pennylands) which are examined by this thesis they have been judged to belong to a different system from the ounceland and pennyland system of the west highlands and islands and no

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15. SRO GD 241/254. The lands granted by this charter became known as Painestun (Pain's toun), now Penston in Tranent. Aldenestun is almost certainly the present day Adniston in Tranent, but as Ulkeleston appears to have been lost at an early period it may be the place particularly represented by Penston.

attempt is made to include a detailed study of assessments in Orkney and Shetland.[16] The northern isles are situated very close to Norway and during the period covered by this thesis were more akin to Scandinavia than to Scotland, being heavily influenced by Scandinavian settlement. Indeed until 1468-9 Orkney and Shetland were under Norse sovereignty.[17] Thus, although brief references are made to the land assessments of the northern isles to do justice to the complex systems found there requires a separate study, one which would also have to examine land assessments in Scandinavia.

Another geographical district whose land assessment system is not fully covered by the thesis is the island of Islay. Although the earliest recorded system of assessment in Scotland, the house unit, was found in Islay as well as in the rest of the kingdom of Dalriada in the seventh century the later units of assessment examined by this thesis do not appear to have existed there. There is no trace of the davachs, ouncelands or pennylands which were found in the surrounding territories. Instead, when evidence of land assessments in Islay becomes readily

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16. The mainland district of Caithness appears to have had the same system as Orkney and Shetland. See below pp. 107-8, 138.
17. For details of the acquisition of Orkney and Shetland by Scotland see R. Nicholson, Scotland: The Later Middle Ages (The Edinburgh History of Scotland, ii, Edinburgh 1974), 414-18; B. Crawford, 'The Pawning of Orkney and Shetland', SHR, 48 (1969), 35-53.

available from the fifteenth century onwards, the familiar units are the quarterland, the eighth-land and the cowland. By a grant of King James IV John MacIan of Ardnamurchan received one quarterland of 'Baletharsauche', an eighth-land of 'Teiremachan' and six cowlands of Proaig on the island of Islay.[18] The cowland was land with an annual rent or extent (= valuation) of one cow and it was a familiar measure of assessment in ancient Ireland.[19] It is possible that the Islay cowland was also ancient and, more than likely, the result of Irish influence. Of course, Islay is situated very close to Ireland and it seems quite natural that the assessment systems used by the inhabitants of Islay should remain more akin to the systems of their Irish neighbours.

However, by the sixteenth century, if not before, the money assessments of poundlands and merklands were also in use in Islay, as they were in the rest of the country at this time, and it would appear that the quarterland was regarded as the equivalent of two and a half merklands (33s. 4d.). King James V granted to Hector MacLean of Duart various lands in Islay including the two quarterlands of Ardnave which extended to five merklands and in MacIan's list of Islay lands (1507) and in the Crown Rental of 1541

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18. The Book of Islay, ed. G. Gregory Smith (Edinburgh 1895), 32, no. 14. Following the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles MacIan of Ardnamurchan acquired most of the lay lands of Islay.
19. E. MacNeill, 'Ancient Irish Law: Law of Status or Franchise', PRIA, 36 (1921-24), 286.

it is clearly the 33s. 4d. to the quarterland system that is being used.[20]

As yet the subject of Islay assessments has attracted little attention from scholars and it is somewhat unfortunate that although the late W.D. Lamont undertook work of considerable value for the history of Islay, it must be said that in general some of his deductions regarding land assessments are based upon rather shaky foundations.[21] Like the northern isles the subject of Islay assessments clearly requires a separate study, one which must obviously include a detailed examination of the Irish cowland.

With the abovementioned exceptions the thesis attempts to deal with all parts of Scotland where the different units of assessment prevailed. Of course the extent to which this can be done is necessarily governed by the volume of source material available.

In the period before 1000 the written materials from which we have to construct the history of Scotland are very few and those which we do have show a distinct preference for the west highlands.[22]

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20. RMS,v, no. 1491; ER, xii, 587-90; ibid., xvii, 633-41.
21. Lamont's publications on Islay include W.D. Lamont, 'Old Land Denominations and 'Old Extent' in Islay', Scot. Stud., 2 (1957), 183-203; ibid., The Early History of Islay (Dundee 1966); ibid., 'House and Pennyland in the Highlands and Isles', Scot. Stud., 25 (1981), 65-74; ibid., 'The Islay Charter of 1408', PRIA, 60 (1960).
22. Kathleen Hughes concluded that '... there had been little written history and written literature in early Scotland, and that history and literature were mainly oral'. K. Hughes, Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages (Woodbridge, Suffolk 1980), 17.

This is reflected in the material available for the study of assessments. The earliest evidence for systems of assessment in Scotland dates from the seventh century and relates to the kingdom of Dalriada. This is contained in the Senchus Fer nAlban which besides recording the genealogies of the ruling families of Dalriada also includes a survey of their civil, military and naval organisation.[23] No comparable survey exists for anywhere outwith Dalriada during this period although by means of later documentary source material and place-name evidence it has been possible to trace the spread of this early system to other parts of the country.

Although the earliest written evidence relates to the west highlands, by the early medieval period there is a shift in the balance of source material. Under Edgar and Alexander I the writ or breve came to Scotland: it was in Latin and opened with the king's name and a greeting to the recipient. The rest of the text might be a brief command or a statement that land has been granted. During the reign of David I many such writs were issued showing an increasing tendency towards greater length and the use of stereotyped phrases.[24] To these documents the name of charter (carta)

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23. For text of the Senchus see J. Bannerman, Studies in the History of Dalriada (Edinburgh 1974), 41-67.
24. Duncan, Kingdom, 171; G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Scots Charter', in Studies in Medieval History presented to R.H.C. Davis (London and Roncoverte 1985), 148-164.

was given and it is the survivals of these charters which provide the major source material for the study of the various land units in Scotland before 1400 as the land which was being granted was frequently described in terms of the unit of assessment. A typical grant showing the use of an assessment unit is as follows:

> 'Villelmus Dei gratia Rex Scotorum omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem. Sciant presentes et futuri me concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Umfrido filio Teob[aldi] de Adeuile donacionem illam quam Umfridus filius Teobald[i] ei fecit de uno dauach in Glenfercharin uersus orientalem partem tenendam sibi et heredibus suis in feudo et hereditate, ita libere et quiete, plenarie et honorifice, sicut carta predicti Umfridi testatur, salvo servicio meo'. [25]

Many of the charters which survive from the period c.1100 to c.1400 are available in printed sources. A.C. Lawrie's Early Scottish Charters deals with the period before 1153 and a mammoth task to bring together in one collection all the written acts of Scottish rulers from 1153-1424 has so far produced in print three volumes: the surviving acts of Malcolm IV (1153-65), of William I (1165-1214) and of David II (1329-71).[26]

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25. By this charter William I confirmed to Humphrey son of Theobald de Addeville the grant made to him by Humphrey son of Theobald of one davach in Glenfarquhar (Fordoun, Mearns), on the east side, to be held in feu and heritage as the charter of Humphrey bears witness (29 December, 1195 x 1203). RRS, ii, no. 423.
26. Early Scottish Charters prior to 1153, ed. A.C. Lawrie (Glasgow 1905); Regesta Regum Scottorum, i, The Acts of Malcolm IV, ed. G.W.S. Barrow (Edinburgh 1960); ibid., ii, The Acts of William I, ed. G.W.S. Barrow with the collaboration of W.W. Scott (Edinburgh 1971); ibid., vi, The Acts of David II, ed. B. Webster (Edinburgh 1982).

Crown charters were probably engrossed on rolls from the twelfth century but there is no official archive of this nature before the reign of Robert I to whose reign the earliest extant charter roll belongs. This constitutes the beginning of the Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland which along with other public records including the first volume of The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland and The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland provide useful sources for the period after 1300.[27]

Many of the surviving charters of the period record grants of church lands and our early deficiency of public records is compensated for to some extent by the cartularies and registers of religious houses, a source whose worth cannot be over-estimated. As a result of the efforts of the nineteenth-century publishing clubs (Abbotsford, Bannatyne, Grampian, Maitland and Spalding) many of these registers are available in print.[28] Others have since been published by the Scottish History Society.[29] Some of the registers include rentals which also contain valuable information relating to assessments particularly

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27. Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, edd. J.M. Thomson and others (Edinburgh 1882-1914); The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, edd. T. Thomson and C. Innes (Edinburgh 1814-75); The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, edd. J. Stuart and others (Edinburgh 1878-1908).
28. E.g. Liber Sancte Marie de Balmorinach (Abbotsford Club 1841); Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis (Bannatyne Club 1856); The Charters of the Priory of Beauly (Grampian Club 1877); Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis (Spalding and Maitland Club 1845).
29. Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm, edd. D.E. Easson and A. MacDonald (SHS 1938).

with reference to rents and services.[30]

Over and above the royal acta and the cartularies and registers of the religious houses there is also a considerable volume of charter material relevant to the study of land assessment to be found in private collections. Again many of these collections are printed and for this historians are particularly indebted to the endeavours of Sir William Fraser.[31] Although the bulk of source material which is of use in this study is already in print it can be supplemented by unprinted charters in the gifts and deposits of private collections in the Scottish Record Office and in the manuscript collections in the National Library of Scotland.

As recourse to the written instrument became increasingly common from the reign of David I onwards, the survival rate of written material of this type improves steadily. Nevertheless the documentation is to a certain extent biased. An analysis has shown that there has been a particularly heavy loss of documents issued in favour of laymen and although this premise is not too important for the study of land assessments, of far greater significance is the fact that there is very little documentary evidence

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30. Liber S. Marie de Calchou (Bannatyne Club 1846), ii, 455-64.
31. E.g. W. Fraser, The Stirlings of Keir (Edinburgh 1858).

relating to the west highlands and islands in the period c.1100 to c.1400.[32] However, this is not so much due to a loss of documentation as to the fact that the written record did not fulfil such an important role in the society of these parts as it did in other parts of Scotland; partly explicable by the fact that the Anglo-Normans, who were largely responsible for the spread of the written document, failed to penetrate the west highlands and islands. As far as royal charters are concerned there is a dramatic contrast between the period c.1100 - c.1300 when documents relating to the west highlands are few and far between and that from 1300 onwards when they begin to become more numerous.

There is some material relating to land assessments in the west highlands in the Fraser family histories and there are several smaller but not unimportant collections of private charters e.g. the Highland Papers series of the Scottish History Society which are also useful.[33] However, these sources proved insufficient for the purposes of this study and in order to provide a more balanced study of systems of land assessment over the whole country the decision was taken to look selectively at later material relating to the west highlands and islands.[34] For this purpose the

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32. Duncan, Kingdom, 172.
33. W. Fraser, The Red Book of Menteith (Edinburgh 1880); Highland Papers, ed. J.R.N. Macphail (SHS 1914-34).
34. It is regretted that Mr. and Mrs. R.W. Munro's edition of the written acts of the Lords of the Isles was not available for this study. When published it will provide an important source for the study of Highland history.

registers of the Great Seal covering the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were consulted along with the relevant parts of the Origines Parochiales Scotiae, the Book of Dunvegan and Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis.[35] Selective use was also made of later material in the gifts and deposits in the Scottish Record Office and in particular of the Lord MacDonald Papers.[36]

Justification for relying on later material in the west highlands and islands can be claimed on account of the fact that the area was one of extreme conservatism where little changed over centuries and where documents of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have far greater relevance for the period before 1400 than they do in other parts of the country where change was much more rapid. In fact there are various documents which highlight both the applicability and the reliability of later source material as a help towards an understanding of earlier, poorly documented periods. For example, in 1343 Torquil MacLeod of Lewis was entailed in the four davachs of Assynt and the parish of Assynt is described in the Old Statistical Account as comprising four davachs of land.[37] Also in 1343, King David II granted to Malcolm, son of Tormod MacLeod of Dunvegan two parts of Glenelg, namely eight davachs, indicating that the parish of Glenelg was composed of twelve davachs

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35. RMS, i-vi; Origines Parochiales Scotiae (Bannatyne Club 1851-55); The Book of Dunvegan (Spalding Club 1938); Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis (Iona Club 1847).
36. SRO GD 221.
37. RRS, vi, no. 487; OSA, xviii, 294.

in total.[38] In 1655 a contract of marriage was drawn up between Ruairi MacLeod of Dunvegan and Margaret, daughter of the late Sir James MacKenzie of Tarbat by which Margaret received a liferent in the six davachs of Glenelg, being half thereof, indicating that Glenelg still comprised twelve davachs of land.[39] Furthermore, the district of Sunart comprised three ouncelands in the fourteenth century and in the eighteenth century it was described as 60 pennylands.[40] In the west highlands and islands one ounceland was equal to twenty pennylands. Likewise, c.1320 King Robert I granted to Roderick, son of Alan three davachs of Knoydart and in 1537 King James V granted to Donald Cameron, son of Eugene Alanson the 60 pennylands of Knoydart.[41]

Sources relating to the district of the Lennox are also scarce. Documentary record says practically nothing about the province pre-thirteenth century. This is particularly disappointing because the unit of assessment found in the Lennox - the arachor - was unique to that area. Moreover, unlike the west highlands and islands, it was not possible to overcome this problem by recourse to later material because

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38. RRS, vi, no. 486.
39. Dunvegan Bk., 55, no. 7.
40. RMS, i, no. 520; OPS, ii, pt. i, 199.
41. RMS, i, App. i, p. 428, no. 9; ibid., iii, no. 1721. The davach also comprised twenty pennylands.

references to the arachor become rare as early as the fourteenth century.

One of the main sources, the Cartularium Comitatus de Levenax is largely a collection of royal grants of land and privileges to the Earls of Lennox and charters from the earls to their vassals and to the monastery of Paisley.[42] However, none of the charters in the Lennox cartulary dates from before c.1200. Other useful collections are found in the Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts dealing with the Lennox and Montrose muniments and in the Fraser Histories of the Chiefs of Colquhoun and the Lennox family.[43] A few pieces of record relating to the Lennox are to be found in the cartularies of Glasgow, Kelso and Paisley.[44] But even within these collections dealing with the Lennox references to arachors are rare. Presumably this explains the extreme reticence on the part of earlier historians writing on the subject of land assessments because, apart from A. McKerral's ill-considered opinions on the size of the arachor published in the early 1940s and the brief although more illuminating comments of G.W.S. Barrow in 1962, it is by no means an exaggeration to say that the

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42. Cartularium Comitatus de Levenax (Maitland Club 1833). This is one of the few rare secular cartularies.
43. HMC 2nd and 3rd reports; W. Fraser, The Chiefs of Colquhoun and their Country (Edinburgh 1869); ibid., Cartulary of Colquhoun of Colquhoun and Luss (Edinburgh 1873); ibid., The Lennox (Edinburgh 1874).
44. Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs 1843); Liber S. Marie de Calchou (Bannatyne Club 1846); Registrum Monasterii de Passelet (Maitland Club 1832: New Club 1877).

existence of the arachor has not been recognised by other scholars of land assessment.[45] Even a very recent discussion of Scottish land denominational units fails to take any account whatsoever of the arachor.[46] Thus it is hoped that this study will go some way towards redressing the balance in favour of the arachor and, by considering it in conjunction with the other major units of assessment found in the same period, help shed some light on this hitherto somewhat obscure assessment unique to the province of the Lennox and in so doing perhaps make some small contribution towards a greater understanding of the early history of the Lennox, a subject which 'remains pitifully obscure'.[47]

Any study of early Scottish history is to some extent hampered by a lack of source material. In the words of one historian of the early medieval period,

> 'When we study the documents relevant to Scottish agriculture which have survived from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we are rather like palaeontologists trying to reconstruct the whole body of an extinct form of life from a chance survival of imperfect fossils'.[48]

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45. McKerral, 'Ancient Denominations', 53. McKerral's views on the size of the arachor are discussed below. See pp.177-9.Barrow, Kingdom, 274-5.
46. Dodgshon, Land and Society, 73-89.
47. K.J. Stringer, Earl David of Huntingdon 1152-1219 (Edinburgh 1985), 14.
48. Barrow, Kingdom, 277.

For the word 'agriculture' it would be possible to substitute land assessment or indeed almost any other subject: the problems would remain unaltered. One of the ways of compensating for our lack of sources is by supplementing these by external material where relevant. Of course external sources must be used with caution.

In view of the movements of peoples within the British Isles in the period before 1400 it is not surprising to discover that something may be learned of Scottish systems of land assessment by looking at the systems of her neighbours. Given Scotland's early relations with Ireland, their close contact and in particular the various phases of settlement of the Irish in Scotland, the importance of Irish evidence is unquestionable. Of course limitations of language and time impose unavoidable restrictions on what can be used. For the early period the Irish law tracts contribute towards a greater understanding of the house system of Scottish Dalriada.[49] Later Irish evidence is particularly useful in attempting to unravel the question of larger territorial groupings and although the lack of land charters, rentals and similar documentation for most of Ireland makes it difficult to trace the existence of land

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49. The Ancient Laws of Ireland, ed. R. Atkinson (1901); Críth Gablach, ed. D.A. Binchy (Dublin 1941).

divisons before the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century period of reconquest when most land units are recorded for the first time nevertheless it has been convincingly proved that the system of land divisions revealed by these records is a native or Gaelic one of considerable antiquity.[50]

The principal source for land assessment systems in Wales is the Welsh laws which probably date from the time of Hywel Dda in the early tenth century.[51] The Welsh laws became available in translation in an edition by A. Owen, The Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales which was published in 1841 and although the need for a new edition has long been recognised Owen's work has not yet been superseded.[52] Certain of the texts have been re-edited but only two include a translation.[53] From the lawbooks it has been possible to gain further indications of the importance of the house in early society and also to detect various

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50. T. McErlean, 'The Irish Townland System of Landscape Organisation', Landscape and Archaeology in Ireland, edd. T. Reeves-Smyth and F. Hamond (BAR British Series, 116, 1983), 313-35. I am grateful to Mr. K. Nicholls for drawing my attention to this reference. P.J. Duffy, 'The Territorial Organisation of Gaelic Land Ownership and its Transformation in County Monaghan, 1591-1640', Irish Geography, 14 (1981), 2-20.
51. Sir G. Edwards, 'The Historical Study of the Welsh Lawbooks', TRHS, 12 (1962), 143.
52. The Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, ed. A. Owen (Record Commission, London 1841).
53. M. Richards, The Laws of Hywel Dda (Liverpool 1954), A.W. Wade-Evans, Welsh Medieval Law (Oxford 1909).

similarities between some of the Welsh and Scottish assessment units. The standard secondary works of T.P. Ellis, J.E. Lloyd and G.R.J. Jones and the more recent studies of W. Davies have also been extremely valuable for the purposes of this study.[54]

Early sources of English history, in particular Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, are also useful for a study of the early house whilst later collections of charters yield valuable information on the ploughgate, a unit which was common to parts of England as well as to Scotland.[55] Many secondary sources have also been useful and particular mention must be made of F.W. Maitland's Domesday Book and Beyond and the Victoria County History series.[56]

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54. T.P. Ellis, Welsh Tribal Law and Custom in the Middle Ages, i (Oxford 1926); J.E. Lloyd, A History of Wales, i (London 1911); G.R.J. Jones, 'Post-Roman Wales', The Agrarian History of England and Wales A.D. 43-1042, ed. H.P.R. Finberg (Cambridge 1972); W. Davies, 'Unciae: Land Measurement in the Liber Landavensis', Agric. Hist. Rev., 21 (1973); ibid., An Early Welsh Microcosm (Royal Historical Society, London 1978); ibid., Wales in the Early Middle Ages (Leicester 1982).
55. Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, edd. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford 1969). Owing to the abundance of material it has been necessary to be very selective and only a few printed collections of documents were consulted, e.g. Transcripts of Charters Relating to the Gilbertine Houses of Sixle, Ormsby, Catley, Bullington and Alvingham, ed. F.M. Stenton (Lincoln Record Society, 18, Horncastle 1922).
56. F.W. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond (Cambridge 1897).

CHAPTER TWO

THE HOUSE

The earliest recorded system of assessment in Scotland is found in the kingdom of Dalriada in the seventh century. Dalriada encompassed, certainly by the second half of the sixth century, Kintyre, Cowal, Knapdale, Lorn, Morvern and Ardnamurchan on the mainland and the islands of Islay, Jura, Colonsay, Mull, Iona, Coll, Tiree, Bute and probably Arran and the Cumbraes. When the Scots of Dalriada in Ireland began to settle in Scottish Dalriada is not clear but there is little doubt that the arrival of their king Fergus Mór macEirc c.500 signalled the removal of the ruling power from Ireland to Scotland.[1]

The evidence for the system of assessment in Scottish Dalriada is found in the Senchus Fer nAlban, 'History of the Men of Scotland', which was originally compiled in the seventh century.[2] The present study is based on an edition by J. Bannerman in his Studies in the History of Dalriada published in 1974. The extant versions of the seventh-century original of the Senchus derive from a new edition made at some point in the tenth century.[3] The function of the Senchus was more than likely practical. It included a genealogical survey of the ruling families of

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1. It is possible that Cenél nOengusa and perhaps Cenél Loairn also were already in Scotland before Fergus Mór arrived. See J. Bannerman, Studies in the History of Dalriada (Edinburgh 1974), 122-6.
2. Bannerman, Dalriada, 68-156.
3. Ibid., 39, 131.

Dalriada and a survey of their civil, military and naval organisation. The three chief peoples of Dalriada were the Cenél nGabráin, Cenél Loairn and the Cenél nOengusa. The Cenél nGabráin occupied Cowal, Kintyre and Bute, probably also Jura, Arran and the Cumbraes. The Cenél Loairn inhabited Knapdale, Lorn, Ardnamurchan and Morvern on the mainland and the islands of Colonsay, Mull, Iona, Coll and Tiree whilst the Cenél nOengusa's territory was probably confined to the island of Islay.[4]

In seventh-century Dalriada the unit of assessment was the tech, 'house', upon which tribute and military service were assessed. According to the Senchus the houses of the Cenél nOengusa were distributed among what seems to be districts of Islay as follows:

Oidech	20 houses
Freg	120 houses
Calad Rois	60 houses
Ros Deorand	30 houses
Ard hEs	30 houses
Loch Rois	30 houses
Ath Cassil	30 houses
?	30 houses[5]

This totals 350 although the number of houses belonging to the Cenél nOengusa is recorded at the end of the survey as being 430.[6] The list is now clearly

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4. Ibid., 111-15.
5. Ibid., 48. For a different translation of the listing of the houses see D. Ó Corráin, 'Review', Celtica, 13 (1980), 171.
6. Bannerman, Dalriada, 49.

incomplete.[7] The houses of the Cenél Loairn were recorded differently. It was intended that septs should be listed with their allocation of houses and then leaders of the septs named and the houses belonging to them enumerated. Those which survive include the 60 houses of the Cenél Fergusa Shalaig and the 60 houses of the Cenél Cathbath (septs of the Cenél Loairn). The distribution of the houses of the Cenél Fergusa Shalaig among its leaders is also given. It is as follows:

Cóildub	30 houses
Eogan Garb	30 houses
Fergna	15 houses
Eogan	5 houses
Báitán	5 houses[8]

However, the total of 85 houses does not agree with the above figure of 60. The houses belonging to the leaders of the Cenél Muredaig are also listed. The five sons of Eochaid:

Ferdálach	20 houses
Báotán	20 houses
Cormac	20 houses
Bledán	10 houses
Crónán	10 houses[9]

At the end of the survey the Cenél Loairn are credited with 420 houses.[10]

Finally, the survey records that the Cenél nGabrain had

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7. See below p. 15 for a possible explanation.
8. Ibid., 49.
9. Ibid., 49.
10. Ibid., 49.

560 houses.[11] Although only the total number of houses belonging to the Cenél nGabrain now survives it is likely that they were also listed according to districts at one time. The fact that the houses of the Cenél Loairn were listed by a different method does not necessarily imply that two different systems of assessment were in use. In view of the relatively small area of Dalriada this is unlikely and the discrepancy may reflect no more than that the compiler of the Senchus was unfamiliar with the topography of Lorn or with the number of houses belonging to each district and accepted the information as it was given to him.[12]

The system of naval recruitment was the same in each of the three cenéla. The house was grouped into twenties and two seven-benchers were required from every twenty houses. It is likely that there were two oarsmen to a bench since bench (sess) was an element in the name of the naval ship and because a premium for space would necessitate two rows of oarsmen. The typical Dalriadic warship should probably be seen as a boat with seven oars to each side.[13] Therefore, what the Senchus intended by two seven-benchers from every twenty houses was that twenty houses were expected to provide 28 oarsmen. As well as the system of naval recruitment the Senchus also indicates the number of men available for fighting on the land from each of the three chief peoples

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11. Ibid., 49.
12. Ibid., 140.
13. Ibid., 153-4.

of Dalriada - the Cenél nGabrain who were given 300 men, the Cenél nOengusa who were given 500 men and the Cenél Loairn 600. There is something wrong with these figures because the Cenél nGabrain, as the most numerous and politically important Dalriadic people of the period, ought to have been able to put at least as many, if not more, fighting men in the field than the Cenél Loairn.[14] As already pointed out, the Cenél nGabrain had 560 houses, the Cenél nOengusa had 430 houses and the Cenél Loairn had 420.[15]

If the above interpretation of the naval levy is correct the Cenél Loairn would have a total of 588 oarsmen. Taken to the nearest hundred, as the number of armed men normally was in contemporary documents there is an exact agreement between the number of fighting men on land and sea. According to this method of reckoning the 560 houses of the Cenél nGabrain ought to have produced 800 fighting men and the 430 houses of the Cenél nOengusa 600. These figures are close to the size of the hosting of the average Irish <u>túath</u> which was 700 men.[16]

Regardless of the number of oarsmen the important role of the twenty-house unit in the system of assessment cannot be ignored, and furthermore at least three leaders of the Cenél Loairn septs are credited with twenty houses. The lowest number of houses held by a leader was five, in other words a quarter of twenty, and between five and twenty only

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14. Ibid., 147.
15. See above, pp. 28-30.
16. Bannerman, <u>Dalriada</u>, 147.

groups of ten and fifteen are recorded, that is, half and three-quarters of twenty.

The method of listing the houses belonging to the Cenél Fergusa Shalaig and the Cenél Muredaig septs of the Cenél Loairn, by a statement of the number of houses possessed by each of their leading people, implies that the inhabitants of the houses were subject in some way to the nobility. It must be assumed that there was little or no variation in the amount of tribute levied from each house if the list was to be of any practical value as there was no differentiation among the houses. This implies that the inhabitants of the houses of the Senchus were of one class. It has been suggested that the house system of Dalriada is an expression of the client system of the nobility in early society as it was detailed in Críth Gablach, a tract on status, which was compiled in the early eighth century and pertained to Northern Ireland and possibly to Ulster in particular.[17] It was from the historical province of Ulster that the Dalriadic people removed to Scotland and from there they maintained close contact with Ireland at least until the date of the compilation of the Senchus.

The number of houses attributed to the leaders of the Cenél Loairn septs is exactly the same as the number of dóer-chéli (base-clients) attributed to each grade of noble

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17. Ibid., 134-40.

in a *túath* as recorded in *Críth Gablach*.[18]

Nobles in Crith Gablach	doer-chéli
aire déso	5
aire ardd	10
aire túise	15
aire forgill	20
rí	?

Cenel Loairn leaders	houses
Eogan	5
Báitán	5
Bledán	10
Crónán	10
Fergna	15
Ferdálach	20
Báotán	20
Cormac	20
Cóildub	30
Eogan Garb	30

This comparison implies that the inhabitants of the houses of the *Senchus* are the equivalent of the base-clients of the various grades of nobility of *Críth Gablach*. It would appear that the five noble grades of a *túath* are represented in the

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18. Ibid., 136; in early Irish society it was possible for a freeman to enter into two types of clientship with his lord, as a free client, *sóer-chéle*, or as a base client, *dóer-chéle*. Both received land or stock from a lord in return for rent but the position of the *dóer-chéle* was less independent as he was also paid the amount of his honour price. See G. MacNiocaill, *Ireland Before the Vikings* (Dublin 1980), 60-6.

distribution of the houses of the Cenél Loairn which suggests that it constituted a túath in which case the Cenél nOengusa and the Cenél nGabrain would also be túatha. This is supported by the fact that the numbers of fighting men each of these cenéla could provide closely resembled the fighting force of an Irish túath.[19] The number of clients belonging to a rí, the highest ranking noble in a túath, is not recorded in Críth Gablach although the thirty houses of Cóildub and Eogan Garb may indicate that the rí had thirty base-clients. Cóildub and Eogan Garb both belonged to the Cenél Fergusa Shalaig which heads the list of the septs of the Cenél Loairn in the Senchus and, therefore, probably provided the contemporary king of the Cenél Loairn. It is unlikely that there was more than one king and it is possible that one of them was a tánaise ríg, 'second to a king', that is 'the expected or awaited one who would succeed the reigning king'.[20] Thus it looks very much as if the houses of the Senchus were the clients of the Cenél Loairn leaders.

The importance of owning a house is stressed in Críth Gablach where it is one of the property qualifications for all grades of freemen. The díre, 'honour price' of the nobility was assessed among other things on their tech 'house' and on the number of their dóer-chéli.[21] In fact the five dóer-chéli of the aire déso, the lowest grade of noble, can be expressed thus: 'asin chóicthigi(u) adidnaíallna', 'from the five houses that serve him' and in this instance there

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19. See above p.31.
20. D.A. Binchy, Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship (Oxford 1970), 26.
21. Bannerman, Dalriada, 135.

is a direct equation between the client and the house.[22]

In Anglo-Saxon England the family or household again formed the basis of the system of assessment. The unit of assessment was the hide, Old English híd or híwisc, from the root híw- 'household, family'.[23] It represented the holding of the normal freeman.[24] The use of the hide in England dates from at least the seventh century. The Laws of Ine which were compiled in Wessex towards the end of the seventh century record that ten hides must find for the king's support

> '10 vessels of honey, 300 loaves, 12 ambers of Welsh ale, 30 of clear (ale), 2 old oxen or 10 wethers, 10 geese, 20 hens, 10 cheeses, an amber full of butter, 5 salmon, 20 poundweights of fodder and 100 eels'.[25]

As well as food rents, taxation and military service were also assessed on the hide. The English host, known as the fyrd, was an array, not of the whole able-bodied male population, but of representatives of all the households of the country and the original idea seems to have been that every hide should send one fully equipped soldier to the fyrd.[26]

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22. Críth Gablach, ed. D.A. Binchy (Dublin 1941), 14, 355.
23. The Oxford English Dictionary (1933), 268.
24. See T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'Kinship, Status and the Origins of the Hide', Past and Present, 56 (1972), 8-9.
25. F.W. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond (London 1960), 283.
26. P. Vinogradoff, English Society in the Eleventh Century (Oxford 1968), 29. This standard could not be kept up and by the tenth and eleventh centuries it had become normal to provide one soldier from every five hides. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 195.

Further evidence of the importance of the family or household in the system of assessment in Anglo-Saxon England is found in Bede's History. Bede described regions in terms of the number of families they could support using the Latin phrase 'terra unius familiae'.[27] It seems apparent that Bede is translating the híd although the phrase was not original to Bede. Before Bede, the measurement of estates in family holdings appears in the anonymous Historia Abbatum where it is stated that the monastery of Wearmouth received from King Egfrid the land of 50 families (accepta ab eo terra primo familiarum quinquaginta) and eight years later the king gave another estate of 40 families (alium xl familiarum terram) for the foundation of Jarrow.[28] In the Life of Wilfred by Eddius, which was probably written at Ripon c.710, land is also measured in terms that are related to the holdings or households (terram decem tributariorum).[29] In each of these instances it seems clear that the Latin terms used are equivalents of the vernacular híd. The Tribal Hidage, probably drawn up towards the end of the eighth century for the use of Offa, King of Mercia, lists the names of 35 different peoples inhabiting the whole of Anglo-Saxon England south of the Humber and assigns to each

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27. Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, edd. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford 1969), iv, c.13, 373.
28. R. Lennard, 'The Origins of the Fiscal Carucate', EcHR, 14 (1944), 58-9.
29. 'Vita Wilfridi', The Historians of the Church of York, ed. J. Raine, (Rolls Series, 71, London 1879), i, c.8, 12. This is particularly remarkable because Eddius had come to Northumbria from Kent, where land measures were based, not on the family holding, but on the plough. Bede says Eddius was 'invitatus de Cantia a... Wilfrido'. HE, iv, 2.

a number of hides.[30] It is interesting to note that the Tribal Hidage assigns 7000 hides to the South Saxons, while Bede writes that the province of the South Saxons contained the land of 7000 families,

> 'provinciam Australium Saxonum, quae post Cantuarios ad austrum et ad occidentem usque ad occidentales Saxones pertingit, habens terram familiarum VII milium'. [31]

Thus it does appear that in Anglo-Saxon England both the hide and Bede's terra unius familiae were equivalent units which functioned in the same manner as the house of seventh-century Dalriada; all three being based on the notion of the household or family.

The earliest surviving evidence for systems of assessment in early Wales is found in the Ancient Laws and Commentaries of Wales. The Welsh laws are found in various editions dating from the twelfth century onwards although they can probably be traced to a code prepared under the direction of the Welsh king, Hywel ap Cadell, called Hywel Dda during the first half of the tenth century.[32] By the time of the Laws the principles of assessment were based on units of land measurement. But it is significant that the house unit is implied by the use of the terms tyddyn, 'homestead' and tref. Tref originally meant a homestead although it acquired a secondary meaning of hamlet or village and became a much bigger unit.[33] Although the authors of the law tracts may

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30. C. Hart, 'The Tribal Hidage', TRHS, 21 (1971), 133.
31. Hart, 'The Tribal Hidage', 134; HE, iv, c.13, 373.
32. Sir G. Edwards, 'The Historical Study of the Welsh Lawbooks', TRHS, 12 (1962), 143.
33. W. Davies, An Early Welsh Microcosm, (Royal Historical Society, London 1978), 38; M. Richards, Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units (Cardiff 1969), p. vii.

be criticised as being over-schematic their evidence clearly had some basis in reality. A system of quadripartite division was followed which is paralleled in the house system of Dalriada and in the client system of Northern Ireland.

Thus the system of assessment in operation in seventh-century Scottish Dalriada and Northern Ireland had close similarities both in terms of function and of organisation to those found in Anglo-Saxon England and early Wales.[34] Furthermore, the concept of the family or household and its fundamental role in early assessment systems is evident in all the above kingdoms.

There is no surviving evidence for systems of assessment in the rest of Scotland during this early period and it is impossible to say whether the house unit was found outside Dalriada. As the Scots sphere of power and influence widened it might be expected that their system of assessment would spread to other parts of Scotland. There is no question that the house unit is found in the Lennox during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the mid-thirteenth century Maldouen, dean of Luss, held the land of Luss rendering in the common army of the king two cheeses from each house in

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34. However, in Wales military service was not assessed on the basis of land units. Instead it was a right incidental to status and was claimed and exercised by freemen as their birthright. Once a year it was necessary for all freemen to go in the host with the king to a border country if he so desired and in his own country it was necessary to accompany the king in the host at his will. A.W. Wade-Evans, Welsh Medieval Law, being a text of the Laws of Hywel (Howel) the Good namely the BM Harleian Ms 4353 of the thirteenth century (Oxford 1909), 208; The Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, ed. A. Owen (Record Commission, London 1841), ii, 376.

which cheese was made - 'duos caseos de qualibet domo in dicta terra in qua fit caseus'.[35] Similarly, in the mid-fourteenth century Finlay of Campsie held lands in the Lennox rendering forinsec service to the king of two cheeses from each house where there was cheese.[36] Although there is no reference to the twenty-house unit these documents indicate that the basic concept of the house as a unit of taxation was still in use in the Lennox as late as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is possible that the house unit reached the Lennox directly from Ireland as it is thought that Scots settled in this area direct from Ireland. Indeed there is a genealogy which claims that the earls of Lennox were descended from Maine Leamna, son of Corc, son of Lughaigh, king of Munster.[37]

The house unit was also used in the north-east of Scotland. In 1208, in a cause between William, Bishop of St Andrews and Duncan of Arbuthnott concerning the land of Arbuthnott in Kincardineshire called Kirkton a render of ten cheeses from each house in Kirkton was required 'decem caseos de qualibet domo de Kirketun'.[38] In this instance the house was being used in the same way as in the Lennox in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and in Dalriada in the seventh century, that is, as a unit of taxation. Further evidence of the existence of the house system in the north-east may be found in the rental of

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35. Fraser, Colquhoun, ii, 272, no. 4.
36. Lenn. Cart., no. 52.
37. For this genealogy see W.F. Skene, Celtic Scotland (Edinburgh 1890), iii, 476. For further discussion of the origins of the system of assessment in the Lennox see below pp. 190-96.
38. Spalding Misc., v, 210.

the bishop of Moray of 1565. In the rental landholdings were described as so many parts except in Spynie where they were termed houses.[39] The presence of the house system in the north-east of Scotland may be explained in terms of the infiltration of the Scots into Pictland in the ninth century. Although the evidence for its existence is scanty it must be remembered that no corpus of material exists for Pictland comparable with the Senchus Fer nAlban. If it were not for the detailed information found in the Senchus the few thirteenth and fourteenth-century references to the house in Argyll would in no way indicate that it had, at one time, formed the basis of the system of assessment in the kingdom of Dalriada.[40]

It seems possible that further evidence of the use of the house unit outwith Dalriada is to be found in place-names embodying the Gaelic cóig, 'five'. In place-names the term cóig has hitherto been thought to refer to 'a fifth part', for instance Pitcog (Kinfauns, Perthshire) has been interpreted as 'share of the fifth part'.[41] But in view of the fact that cóig means 'five' rather than 'fifth' this should perhaps be better interpreted as 'share of five'. Considering the prominence of the five-house unit in seventh-century Dalriada it is quite possible that the element cóig here refers to five houses. If so Pitcog would represent 'share of five

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39. Moray Reg., 434.
40. For evidence of the house in thirteenth and fourteenth century Argyll see below pp. 42-3.
41. W.J. Watson, The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland (Edinburgh 1926), 410. The north-west part of Loch Broom parish is called Coigeach, 'place of fifths'. This is probably the correct interpretation. Tradition makes the five fifths to have been Achnahaird, Achlochan, Acheninver, Achabhraighe and Achduart - the five Achs, 'na cóig achaidhean', and this is the local derivation of the name. W.J. Watson, Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty (Inverness 1904), 257.

houses'.[42] Surviving cóig names are found in strongest concentration in Perthshire and Strathdearn. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the 'coigs' of Strathallan (Perthshire) are described as 'le Westir Coyg, le Welcoyg, Bereholme and Little Coig'.[43] In a late fifteenth-century document Bereholme is termed Bereholme Coig.[44] This indicates that the 'coigs' of Strathallan, at least, apparently consisted of four, rather than five, constituent parts. If cóig did represent a five-house unit this is perhaps an indication that the twenty-house grouping, so prominent in seventh-century Dalriada, also featured in Pictland, presumably after it was settled by the Scots.[45] Near the head of Strathdearn is another little group of cóig place-names - Coignascallan, Coignafearn, Coignashie and Coignafeuinternich.[46] Interestingly, again there are four cóig names rather than five which is not what would be expected if cóig did mean 'a fifth'.[47] No examples have been found of groups of five cóig names.

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42. G.W.S. Barrow has suggested this interpretation for Pitcox, near Dunbar and Pentecox (formerly Pet(h)cox) between Edinburgh and Dalkeith. G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Sources for the History of the Highlands in the Middle Ages', The Middle Ages in the Highlands (Inverness Field Club, Inverness 1981), 15.
43. RMS, ii, no. 2751.
44. Ibid., ii, no. 1301.
45. For further discussion of twenty groupings in the north-east see below pp. 70-71.
46. For further discussion of the 'cóigs' of Strathdearn see below pp. 70-71.
47. It has been claimed that there were five cóigs in Strathdearn and exponents of the theory of the five fifths of Strathdearn have even suggested a name for the fifth cóig, Cóig a'Mhuillinn 'cóig of the mill' although there is no evidence whatsoever to substantiate this opinion. (MacBain, 'Place-Names of Inverness-shire', TGSI, 25 (1901-03), 82). The four cóigs of Strathallan were accompanied in documentary record by the 'mill of the Coygis' which may be where the misconception arose. RMS, ii, 2751.

Whether the use of the house as a unit of taxation was widespread in the society of north-east Scotland between the ninth century and the early medieval period, when documentary evidence first becomes available, is uncertain. What is certain is that if it was found in this area at that time it had more or less disappeared by the twelfth century and was no longer considered as a viable method of assessing taxation.[48]

It now remains to consider what happened to the house in the area known as Dalriada. Since the house fulfilled such an important role in the organisation of early Dalriadic society one would expect to find many references to it once documentary sources become available. This is not the case and it seems to have almost disappeared. However, a collection of grants to Paisley Abbey indicates that the house did survive and was still in use as a unit of assessment in the thirteenth century in the Lordship of the Isles. At the beginning of the thirteenth century Ranald, son of Somerled, Lord of the Isles, granted to Paisley Abbey one penny from every house from which smoke comes, 'unum denarium ex qualibet domo totius terre mee unde fumus exit'.[49] In this instance the house is being used in the same sense as it was in contemporary Lennox and Kincardineshire although the render was in pennies rather than cheeses. In 1210, Ranald's son, Donald, also granted to Paisley Abbey one penny from every house and a similar

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48. The assessment system found in this area in the early medieval period is examined in chapter three.
49. Pais. Reg., 125.

grant by Angus, son of Donald, shows that the house was still a recognised unit of taxation at the end of the thirteenth century.[50] It is possible that the house unit occurs in two fifteenth-century grants which were made to the Friars Preachers of Glasgow. One grant, of 1429, by Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochaw, of twenty shillings was to be paid 'de techis nostris'.[51] The other, made by Colin, Earl of Argyll, in 1481, also of twenty shillings, was to be paid 'de chetis nostris'.[52] In the rubrics of both these grants the word 'techis' appears as 'chetis'.[53] It is just feasible that 'de techis nostris' was a Latin corruption of the Gaelic tech, 'house' and thus reading 'from our houses'. If so, the house was still a recognised unit in Argyll as late as the fifteenth century.

The fact that there is only one clear reference to the house as a unit of assessment in the north-east of Scotland during the early medieval period need not necessarily detract

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50. Ibid., 126, 127. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the house was being used as a unit of taxation in the Isle of Man. In 1299 Bishop Mark was expelled from Man by King Edward I and the Pope replied by placing Man under interdict for three years. In 1302 Mark returned and, to show his authority and exact further punishment, he imposed a tax of one penny a year on every house with a fireplace. This tax lasted for centuries and was known as 'the smoke penny'. R.H. Kinvig, The Isle of Man (Liverpool 1978) 89.
51. Glas. Friars, no. 21.
52. Ibid., nos.45, 62. C. Innes suggested to the editor of these documents that 'techis' may mean 'thecis', 'from our coffers' but the editor did not agree with this. He felt that although thecis may not improbably have passed into techis, chetis which occurs more often than techis is scarcely a likely corruption of thecis. Glas. Friars, p. xlvi.
53. The mistranscription of t and c is common.

from the argument for the existence of the house system in that area as these few examples listed above are all that exist for this system in the west during this time although it is clear that it once played a vital role in the framework of Dalriadic society. The lack of references to the house as a unit of assessment in documents of the early medieval period suggests that its role was no longer of vital importance. Was the system of assessment based on the house replaced by something completely different or did it form the basis of a new system? These questions must remain unanswered until the various units of assessment which become evident with the advent of documentary material from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards have been examined in detail in the following chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DAVACH

It was originally believed by some Celtic scholars that the word davach was derived from the Gaelic damh, 'an ox', and achadh, 'a field', and that it meant oxgang.[1] Alternatively, it was supposed to represent a full team of oxen where damh is 'an ox' and ach an augmentative particle, giving the sense of 'abounding in'.[2] Subsequent studies have shown that the term davach was in fact derived from the Gaelic dabhach, dabhaich, f. meaning a large tub or vat.[3] In this sense the term (dabach, ā, f.) is also familiar in Ireland.[4]

The earliest known record of the term davach in Scotland is found in the Notitiae in the Book of Deer. These notes were written in Gaelic probably between the late 1130s and 1150.[5] Notitia II records that Mal-Coluim, son of Cinaed, gave a king's dues in Biffie and in Pett Meic-Gobraig, and two davachs of upper Ros abard - 'da dabeg uactair Ros abard'.[6] Mal-Coluim, son of

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1. A. McKerral, 'Ancient Denominations of Agricultural Land in Scotland', PSAS, 78 (1943-44), 50.
2. F.W.L. Thomas, 'Ancient Valuation of Land in the West of Scotland: Continuation of What is a Pennyland?', PSAS, 20 (1885-86), 202.
3. E. Dwelly, The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary (7th Edition, Glasgow 1971), 305. Dwelly also gives the alternative meaning of 'huge woman'. Apparently a legend says that 'an dabhach' was the name of Ossian's wife and she was big, burly and fat.
4. Dictionary of the Irish Language, ed. Royal Irish Academy (Dublin 1913-76), D-F, 3. According to R.I. Best, 'The Settling of the Manor of Tara', ERIU, iv (Dublin 1910), 134-35 the dabach was the largest vessel, the next in size being the ian (cf. the Ancient Laws of Ireland, i, 170.4 where a dabach is said to be bigger than an ian), then the drolmach, mude, cilarn, milan and metar.
5. For a discussion of the dating of these documents see K. Jackson, The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer (Cambridge 1972), 96.
6. Jackson, Deer Notitiae, 34, 31. Ros abard - unidentified. The first element is evidently ros, 'a wooded ridge or promontory, a heath'. See Jackson, Deer Notitiae, 51.

Cinaed is certainly Malcolm II, son of Kenneth II, who reigned as King of Scots between 1005 and 1034. This may indicate that the term davach was in use at least one hundred years earlier than any surviving record of its existence.[7] Another reference to the davach occurs in Notitia VI which records that Colbán, mormaer of Buchan and others quenched all grants in favour of God and of Drostán and of Columba and of St. Peter the apostle 'in return for the dues on four davachs' [-worth] of that which should devolve on the chief religious houses of Scotland and on its chief churches'.[8] In both of these entries in the Book of Deer it is evident that the term davach was not being used in the sense of a large tub or vat but rather as a measure of land operating both as an agricultural and a fiscal unit.

It has been suggested that the term davach was applied to land in respect of the amount of land sown by a large vat of seed or, alternatively, to the land required to yield a large vat of grain.[9] A third, and more likely, notion is that the davach represented the amount of land in respect of which a large vat of grain was paid as a render.[10]

It is instructive at this point to consider the geographical distribution of the davach. Davachs referred to in documentary

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7. For further discussion of the origin and antiquity of the davach see below pp.94-100.
8. Jackson, Deer Notitiae, 35. Colbán took part in an attack on England led by William the Lion in 1173.
9. J.A. Symon, Scottish Farming (Edinburgh 1959), 30; A.A.M. Duncan, Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom (Edinburgh 1978), 318.
10. This interpretation was suggested by W.E. Levie in 'The Scottish Davach or Daugh', SGS, 3 (London 1931), 102 and was accepted by R.A. Dodgshon in his recent volume Land and Society in Early Scotland (Oxford 1981), 76.

sources before 1400 were commonly named and as many of these names have survived it has been possible, in most cases, to plot their exact location on the map.[11] In some instances, particularly in the case of davachs of the north-west, it is only the area which is named and so the location of these units is less precise. The davach has survived as a place-name element and names of this type may also be used to determine the distribution pattern of the davach.

The distribution map of davachs based on documentary sources suggests that the davach was an important feature of Scotland north of the Forth. Its distribution was most dense in the provinces of Angus, Mearns, Mar, Buchan and Moray. It is also found further north in Ross and Sutherland, particularly around the firths of Cromarty and Dornoch. There is no trace of davachs in Caithness before 1400.[13] Moving south there is evidence of davachs in Atholl, Stormonth, Gowrie and Fife. There is not much evidence of the davach in Strathearn and it is not found in Menteith nor in the Lennox. Several fourteenth-century documents refer to davachs in the Hebrides, the small isles and the mainland districts of Moidart, Knoydart, Glenelg, Kintail and Assynt.[14] One early fourteenth-century source indicates that there were davachs in Lochaber.

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11. See appendix ii - distribution map based on documentary sources pre- 1400.
12. See appendix iii - distribution map based on place-names which contain the element davach from 1" O.S. maps.
13. For a discussion of land units in Caithness see below p. 139.
14. RMS, i, App. i, 428, no. 9; RRS, vi, nos. 485, 486, 487.

King Robert I granted various lands including Lochaber to Thomas Randolph, knight, in return for the service of eight knights and as much Scottish service and aid as is due from each davach.[15] Although references to davachs in the west are far fewer than references to davachs in the north-east before 1400 the distribution map does reveal that davachs are found scattered over most districts of the western seaboard from Moidart to Assynt and stretching as far west as the Outer Hebrides. Perhaps the likeliest explanation for the lack of references to davachs in the west is a scarcity of surviving material dealing with that area. It is surely significant that the evidence for davachs in Glenelg, Kintail and Assynt is based on the survival of a few charters relating to the west which were probably all issued on or about the same day.[16]

The only known documentary reference to the davach south of the Forth-Clyde line occurs in a confirmation charter of 1219 by Pope Honorius to Arbroath Abbey of one davach in the territory of 'Kengelduris' (Kingledoors, in Tweeddale).[17] Kingledoors was granted to Arbroath Abbey by Adam de Hastings.[18] Although Kingledoors is referred to in several documents in the Arbroath Register there is no other instance where it is described as a davach.[19] The likeliest explanation of the

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15. Moray Reg., no. 264. Knight service, Scottish service and aid are discussed below. See pp. 79-90.
16. A total of six charters were enrolled together, three of which referred to davachs. Only two of the six were dated, both on 12 June, 1343 and B. Webster has suggested that the others belong to approximately the same date. RRS, vi, no. 485 n.
17. Arb. Lib., i, no. 223.
18. Ibid., i, no. 122.
19. Ibid., i, nos. 123, 223, 224.

Tweeddale davach is that the document in which it appears was drafted by a clerk familiar with the terminology in use north of the Forth-Clyde line who used davach as an equivalent to ploughgate which was the normal land unit in Tweeddale.[20] This theory is supported by the fact that the formula adopted in Honorius' confirmation, where the davach was described as 'in the territory of Kingledoors', more closely resembles that of grants of ploughgates than of davachs. Ploughgates south of the Forth normally did not have names and were commonly described as being situated in a named territory whereas the davach was almost always named.[21] However, it is possible that the Kingledoors document is an indication that at one time the davach was found in south-east Scotland although it had later been superseded but without further evidence this must remain extremely tentative.

The distribution map of place-names containing the element dabhach corresponds closely with the distribution map of davachs based on documentary sources before 1400 except in the west highlands and islands and in the south-west.[22] There are no definite examples of davach place-names west of the Great Glen although it is clear that the davach was in use as a land unit in this area. Gargawach (Lochaber) may be an instance.[23]

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20. The ploughgate is discussed in chapter seven.
21. For further discussion see below pp. 224, 67 n.111.
22. See appendix iii.
23. Watson was of the opinion that Gargawach garbh dhabhach meant 'rough davach': CPNS, 235. This may seem an unlikely derivation as the davach was an arable measure. [See below pp.63-6] However, Dochgarroch (Inverness and Bona) is clearly a davach name and it appears to contain the same element - garbh, although its position on the map indicates that it was situated on land of reasonable quality. The explanation of its name may be that of the davachs in the locality its ground was the poorest. As Gargawach has proved impossible to locate on the map the quality of its soil cannot be determined.

Certainly documentary sources imply that there were davachs in Lochaber.[24] Documentary sources of the period before 1400 contain no references to davachs in the south-west but it is apparent from a study of place-names containing the element dabhach that the davach was found in this area. There are at least thirteen examples of davach place-names in the south-west. These are centred on the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright where there are nine likely instances:- Doach (Buittle); Cullendoch Hill (Carsphairn); Cullendeugh (New Abbey); Knockendoch (New Abbey); Culdoach (Parton); Culdoach (Twynholm); Meikle Cullendoch Moss (Girthon); Meikle Cullendoch (Girthon) and Little Cullendoch Moss (Girthon). In Carrick there are three probable davach place names:- Dochroyle (Colmonell); Docherneil (Colmonell) and Kildoach (Straiton). In Wigtownshire there appears to be only one example: Drumdoch (Inch).[25] It has been suggested that davach was used in place-names of the south-west in the sense of a vat-like hole or hollow, based on its original meaning, rather than as a land measure.[26] However, this does not appear to be so.[27] If the element dabhach was being used in the sense of a vat-like hole or hollow surely it would be found in other parts of the country where the davach was not found as a land unit, as well as in the south-west and yet this is not the case.[28] Furthermore, there is no evidence

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24. Moray Reg., no. 264
25. All of these names except Meikle Cullendoch Moss, Meikle Cullendoch and Little Cullendoch Moss were listed by J. MacQueen in his 'Pennyland and Davoch in South-Western Scotland', Scot. Stud., 23 (1979), 69-71.
26. Watson, CPNS, 183.
27. Having studied the davach place-names in the south-west MacQueen concluded that the davach was used as a land unit in this area. MacQueen, 'Pennyland and Davoch', 69-71.
28. See appendix iii.

of the davach being used as a place-name element in Ireland where it was used in the sense of a vat only.

Davach place-names in the south-west account for approximately 10% of all surviving davach place-names which is clearly a significant proportion as the other 90% stretch from Fife to the Dornoch Firth.[29] Also significant is the distribution of place-names in ceathramh, 'quarter' in the south-west. There are at least 35 ceathramh place-names in this area; 20 in Wigtownshire, 14 in the Stewartry and one in Dumfriesshire.[30] Both ceathramh and dabhach place-names are located on low-lying ground in the more fertile parts of the region. This follows the distribution pattern of davachs in the north-east.[31]

Ceathramh place-names obviously represent quarters of a larger unit. The quarterland was a subdivision of primary importance in the system of assessment based on the davach and the fact that both these elements are found in place-names of the south-west makes it very likely that the system of assessment based on the davach was in operation in the south-west at some point before 1400.[32]

The geographical situation of the davach was, in the main, restricted to the most fertile land in those parts of the country

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29. See appendix iii.
30. MacQueen, 'Pennyland and Davoch', 69.
31. See below, p. 53.
32. The presence of the pennyland in the south-west and its grouping into twenties which is associated with the davach in the west highlands and islands also indicates that it was extremely likely that the davach did feature as a land unit in the south-west. See below pp. 106-7.

where it was found.[33] Low-lying ground was favoured and all davachs were situated below 800 feet. Many lay along the river valleys. Coastal situations were rare. The preference of davach sites for the best soils is indicative of the arable nature of the unit.[34] The derivation of the davach implies a measure of arable land and the location of davachs on the best soils, those most suited to arable farming, further indicates that this was so.[35]

It has been noted that the distribution of davachs is similar to that of 'Pit'- place-names and to Pictish symbol-stones.[36] Certainly this is the case as far as the main groupings of place-names in 'pit'- are concerned. These are found in strong concentrations from Fife to Easter Ross.[37] The majority of class II symbol-stones are also concentrated in this part of the country.[38] On the basis of this similar distribution of the davach and the Pictish symbol-stones and place-names in 'pit'- it has been assumed that the davach was a Pictish land unit.[39] But it must be remembered that there is evidence of the davach in the south-west and in parts of the west highlands and islands. Although there are a few examples of place-names in

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33. This refers to davachs based on place-name and documentary material.
34. For further discussion of the arable nature of the davach see below pp. 63-66.
35. See above p. 45 for derivation of the davach.
36. G.W.S. Barrow, The Kingdom of the Scots (London 1973), 273, n60.
37. See An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600, edd. P. McNeill and R. Nicholson (St Andrews 1975), 106. There are examples of 'Pit'- place-names outwith this region. See W.F.H. Nicolaisen, Scottish Place-Names (London 1976), 151-8.
38. Historical Atlas, McNeill and Nicholson, 115. For a discussion of Pictish symbol-stones see I. Henderson, The Picts (London 1967); G. Whittington, 'Place-Names and the Settlement Pattern of Dark-Age Scotland', PSAS, 106 (1974-75).
39. Barrow, Kingdom, 273. The theory that the davach was a Pictish unit is examined in greater detail below p. 96.

'pit'- on the western seaboard there are none in the western isles nor in the south-west. There are several occurrences of class I symbol stones in the west highlands and islands and one in the south-west but no examples of class II or class III stones are found in these areas.[40] Davachs were situated on the soils best suited to arable farming and the vast majority of pit-names and symbol-stones also reveal a preference in their location for fertile sites. It may well be that their similar distribution pattern reflects no more than the utilisation and settlement of the best ground by different peoples at different times.

There is no doubt that between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries the davach functioned as an agricultural unit. This is evident in the earliest surviving record of the davach whereby Mal-Coluim, son of Cinaed, granted the two davachs of Upper Ros abard to the monastery of Deer.[41] Further examples of the agricultural as distinct from the fiscal davach are as follows: the davach of Icthar Hathyn (twelfth century, probably in Fife); that davach in Mearns which is called Pittengardner (thirteenth century); one davach called Inverquharity (thirteenth century, Angus).[42]

In early documentary sources no reference is made to the size of the davach. Historians who have previously dealt with this question have tended to suggest an equation of some form with other land units, in particular with the ploughgate.

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40. Historical Atlas, edd. McNeill and Nicholson, 114-15.
41. Jackson, Deer Notitiae, 34.
42. St A. Lib., 290; Arb. Lib., i, no. 242; SRO J.M. Thomson Photographs, no. 10.

It has been argued that in the east of the country one davach was equal to four ploughgates where one ploughgate was approximately 104 Scots acres in extent.[43] This is partly based on a court case of 1381 held for the production of charters of tenants claiming to hold from the bishop and church of Aberdeen.[44] One of the tenants, Bernard de Cargill, undertook to produce his charter showing how he held the lands of Cloveth from the bishop and the church.[45] These lands of Cloveth were entered in the registers of the church as 'half a davach'.[46] The half davach of Cloveth is also mentioned a few years earlier in a royal confirmation.[47] In the Bishop of Aberdeen's rental of 1511 the same lands of Cloveth are entered as two ploughs.[48] It was thought that in the west the davach was equal to one ploughgate although the evidence is late. The earliest quoted was taken from the accounts of the camerarius ultra Spey in the Exchequer Rolls of 1458 where the rent of a whole davach was stated as 80/- or £4.[49] As a bovate of land had been devastated a deduction of 10/- had been made from the rent.[50] Since the share deducted for the

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43. Skene, Celtic Scotland, iii, 223.
44. C. Innes, Scotch Legal Antiquities (Edinburgh 1872), 272.
45. Abdn. Reg., i, 135.
46. Innes, Legal Antiquities, 273.
47. RMS, i, no. 474.
48. Abdn. Reg., i, 363. Thomas argued that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries one davach equalled four ploughgates in the north-eastern part of the country but he felt that the evidence was insufficient to establish whether this was the case in this area in the thirteenth century. Thomas, 'Ancient Valuation', 204, 207.
49. ER, vi, 463. This example was used by Thomas who believed that one davach equalled one ploughgate in the west. Thomas, 'Ancient Valuation', 202.
50. ER, vi, 468.

bovate was equal to one-eighth of the total rent it was assumed that the davach was equal to one ploughgate of eight bovates.[51] However, it has been argued that a ploughgate was rentalled at three merks or 40/-.[52] In this respect the entry seems rather to indicate that the davach, rated at 80/-, represented two ploughgates and, therefore, approximately 208 acres. This is consistent with the view of the eighteenth-century traveller, Pennant, who defined the half-davach in Lochbroom as '96 Scotch acres of arable land'.[53]

It is also possible to equate the davach with two ploughs, in the east of the country, in Lintrathen, Angus. A seventeenth-century roll 'of the plewis lyable for sogeris of the Watch their maintenance' includes the lands of Little Kenny, 'Litile Kaine', Meikle Kenny, 'Meekle Kaine' and 'Kinneillis', rated respectively at two, four and two ploughs.[54] It seems quite clear that 'Kinneillis' represents the present farm of Kinnaniel in Lintrathen and that that represents the davach of Kennyn Muchardyn granted to Gillethomas, son of Alise by Henry, Abbot of Arbroath in 1199.[55] The sequence of name forms is (1) Kennyn Muchardyn 1199; (2) Kenny Murchardyn 1279; (3) Kennymukard 1370; (4) Kennemukert alias Kenneneyll 1526; (5) Kynnennall 1625; (6) Kinnells 1686.[56] Thus land described as one davach in 1199 was rated as two ploughs in the seventeenth century. Also on the roll is 'Clintlawes' rated

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51. Thomas, 'Ancient Valuation', 202.
52. Innes, Legal Antiquities, 270.
53. T. Pennant, A Tour in Scotland and A Voyage to the Hebrides in 1772 (Chester 1774), 314.
54. SRO GD 16/27/157.
55. Arb. Lib., i, no. 305.
56. Ibid., i, no. 305; ibid., i, Appendix, no. vi; ibid., ii, no. 33; ibid., no. 629; Retours (Forfar), no. 154; ibid., no. 502. The present form Kinnaniel preserves the form recorded in 1526 and 1625 better than the late-seventeenth century forms Kinnells and Kinneillis.

at two ploughs.[57] There is no doubt that this is Clintlaw south of Bridgend of Lintrathen. This is identifiable with 'Clentolach' which is described as a davach in a mid-thirteenth century grant of Alan Durward to the abbey of Coupar Angus.[58] Thus in Lintrathen, at least, the davach seems to have been equated with two ploughgates rather than four.

It has been claimed that the Gordon Estate Rental of 1600 contains ample proof that the davach of the north-east was a unit of 416 acres, the equivalent of four ploughgates.[59] Certainly many farms in this rental are listed as four ploughs but there are many more which are listed as two ploughs.[60] Furthermore, in the parish of Insh three farms are brought together as four ploughs and one of these has the name 'Davache Breis'.[61] In this case the davach was obviously less than four ploughs and may well have been two ploughs. The farm of Dallandache is listed in the rental as two ploughs.[62] It is likely that this place-name contained the word davach as a final element - dail an dabhaich, 'field of the davach' providing another example of a unit which

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57. SRO GD 16/27/157.
58. C.A. Chrs., i, no. 55.
59. Dodgshon, Land and Society, 76, n.85.
60. Spalding Misc., iv, 261-319. A total of 37 farms are listed as four ploughs whilst 59 are listed as two ploughs. Eight farms are listed as three ploughs, two as six ploughs, one as five ploughs and 50 as one plough. If a davach was the equivalent of two ploughgates rather than of four the high preponderance of one-plough farms is readily explicable as the half-davach was a very common unit. See below p. 61.
61. Spalding Misc., iv, 307. Of the other two farms 'Countelawe' is clearly what Blaeu's map shows as Contalait, which was apparently just north of the present farm of Ballintian, while Corarnstilmore (Corearnistaill Moir) still exists, although in ruin, a few miles further up the River Feshie. 'Davache Breis' remains unidentified.
62. Spalding Misc., iv, 301. It has been impossible to locate Dallandache. There is still Loch an Dabhaich at NN 729963 (in Kingussie and Insh parish) but this name is not quite in the right location to be connected with 'Dallandache' and may refer to Nuide. Nuide was probably a single davach originally which then became divided to make two or three davachs.

equalled two ploughgates. The farm of Haddoche (half-davach) is listed in the rental as one plough, again consistent with the theory that one davach was equal to two ploughgates.[63] Also rated at one plough in the rental was the land of Kirkton and it is likely that this was also a half-davach as the common endowment of churches in the north-east of Scotland was half a davach of land.[64] The half-davach is again equated with the ploughgate in the Bishop of Aberdeen's rental of 1511 where Leddauch leth-dabhach, 'half-davach' is listed as one plough.[65] However, there is some evidence of a four-plough davach in the Gordon Rental. The four-plough farms of Clune and Banchor, in Kingussie parish, are each called a 'dauche' in the marginal note.[66] There is a great regularity, almost artificiality, in the allocation of four- or two-plough values to most farms and it seems likely that the distribution of ploughs shown in the Rental is relatively recent in 1600.[67]

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63. Ibid., iv, 279.
64. Ibid., iv, 280. For further discussion on the endowment of churches, see below p. 58.
65. Abdn. Reg., i, 368.
66. Spalding Misc., iv, 299-300.
67. This is supported by the fact that davachs are not fully assimilated. Schepine, Dalnavert and 'Kinraranakyill' (Kinrara) are still described as 'dauches' and are not assessed in ploughs. Spalding Misc., iv, 309-10. If the distinct names [i.e. not separately counting the 'split' names such as west and east Tulloche or Gaskey Moir and Gaskey Beige] in the 'Gordon Rental' for Badenoch are counted the total, including those which can be located and those which are lost, is 59. It can hardly be a coincidence that when King Robert II granted the lordship of Badenoch to his son, Alexander Stewart it was collectively described as 60 davachs. In early times each of the 59 named localities recorded in the Rental was probably a davach but of course some davachs were better (i.e. richer) than others, and the Gordon Rental may reflect an attempt to wring more out of the better ones by assessing them at four ploughs, the ordinary ones being two ploughs. Spalding Misc., iv, 295-310; RMS, i, no. 382.

The only example as yet discovered of davachs and ploughgates being referred to in the same document during the early medieval period occurs in a grant of King Alexander II to Scone Abbey in 1235.[68] Scone received the lands of Meikle Blair and Little Blair except two and a half ploughgates which Alexander gave to the monks of Cupar. In return for this grant Scone was to render forinsec service pertaining to five davachs of land remitting the service which pertained to the sixth davach of Blair for the land granted to the monks of Cupar. If one davach was equated with four ploughgates surely the service of half a davach would have been remitted or, if one davach was equated with one ploughgate the abbey should have been exempt from the service of two and a half davachs. Instead this document supports the theory that the davach was identified with two ploughgates.

It has been noted that the common endowment of parish churches in the north-east was half a davach although there were a few exceptions.[69] South of the Forth churches were normally endowed with one ploughgate.[70] It is unlikely that parish churches in the north were better endowed than in the south which would be the case if one davach was reckoned as the equivalent of four ploughgates. A study of the endowment of parish churches reinforces the theory that the davach should rather be seen as

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68. Scone Liber, no. 67.
69. In 1226 the churches of Botarie, Drumdelgie, Dumbennan, Essie, Glass, Kinnoir, Ruthven and Rhynie in Strathbogie each had an endowment of a half-davach of land. Moray Reg., no. 30. The church of Aberchirder, alias Marnoch, had a whole davach as did the church of Inveravon. Arb. Lib., i, no. 100; Moray Reg., no. 50.
70. There are numerous references to parish churches which were endowed with one ploughgate such as Ednam, Peebles, Traquair, Morebattle and Earlston. ESC, nos. 24, 50, 270. Again there are a few exceptions including the church of Livingston which was endowed with half a ploughgate and the church of Carriden which had two ploughgates. Holy Lib., nos. 2, 9.

the equivalent of two ploughgates. This would provide for churches north and south of the Forth being endowed on an equal basis.

According to a regulation in Regiam Majestatem no husbandman was liable to heriot unless he held one-eighth part of a davach or more.[71] This may indicate that the normal holding of a husbandman was an eighth of a davach. If, as seems likely, a davach was reckoned as the equivalent of two ploughgates, each of which was subdivided into eight oxgangs, the normal holding of a husbandman would be represented by two oxgangs.[72] This is consistent with the situation in the south-east of Scotland where two oxgangs was the normal holding of a husbandman.[73] An old farm account book written between 1768 and 1782 revealed that the davach of Dunachton (Badenoch) had seventeen eightlands, that is eighths.[74] This is very close to the sixteen it should have had if it was the equivalent of two ploughgates. As it consisted of Dunachtonmore, Dunachtonbeg and Kincraig it is possible that the two Dunachtons made up the original davach (of sixteen eightlands/oxgangs) while Kincraig was a later addition of one oxgang.[75] King Robert I confirmed to Sir Hugh Ross the thanage of Glendowachy to be held for a render of eight horses for carting once a year from each davach of the thanage.[76] If the holding of a husbandman was one-eighth of a

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71. Regiam Maj., iv, c.17 (APS, i, 335). Heriot was a payment, usually the best animal, for succession of heirs to the man's land, chattels and obligations on his decease. Duncan, Kingdom, 336.
72. For division of ploughgates, see below pp. 206-7.
73. See below pp. 214-15.
74. I.F. Grant, Every-Day Life on an Old Highland Farm 1769-1782 (London 1924), 72.
75. Ibid., 72.
76. RMS, i, App. i, no. 5.

davach it may well be that each husbandman provided one horse. At the end of the thirteenth century each husbandman who held lands from Kelso Abbey at Redden (Roxburghshire) was liable to carriage service with one horse from Berwick.[77] Thus it does appear that the davach and the ploughgate can be related to one another although previous equations whereby one davach was thought to be equivalent to four ploughgates in the east and one ploughgate in the west are unreliable. Certainly there are examples of the davach being equated with four ploughs but these tend to be late and need not necessarily have been the same as the 104-acre ploughgate and the evidence consistently supports the theory that the davach should be regarded as the equivalent of two ploughgates both in the east and in the west. This suggests that the davach was based on a unit of land in the region of 200 acres.

Early medieval grants of davachs give a fair indication that it was a unit of considerable size. There are very few grants of more than two or three davachs and the exceptions almost always take the form of royal grants. The largest non-royal grant was that of sixteen davachs given by the earl of Sutherland to his brother in 1360.[78] The largest known single grant was that made by King Robert II to his son, Alexander Stewart, of 60 davachs in Badenoch although a grant of this size is unique and the next largest was that of seventeen and three-quarter davachs confirmed by King Robert I to Roderick, son of Alan in c.1320.[79] Fractions of davachs were commonly granted, a further indication that the

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77. Kel. Lib., no. 219.
78. Fraser, Sutherland, iii, no. 19.
79. RMS, i, no. 382. For these 60 davachs see above. p. 57. Ibid., App. i, no. 9.

davach was a fairly large unit. The commonest grant was of the half-davach which seems to have been an established, permanent unit. Half davachs were named which suggests that they were fixed units.[80]

Churches were sometimes described as being situated in a half-davach which also indicates the fixed nature of the unit.[81] Further evidence of the permanency of the half-davach is found in the significant number of place-names formed from the half-davach such as Lettoch in the parishes of Knockbain, Urray and Killearnan and Haddo in Crimond and in Cruden.[82] The abundance of Haddo place-names in east Aberdeenshire serves to indicate the importance of the unit in this area where it may in fact have been more widely used than the davach.[83] It is possible that the half-davach, the equivalent of the ploughgate, was a more manageable unit than the davach as the ploughgate was commonly reckoned as the amount of land a plough-team could cope with in one year and this may partly explain the important role of the half-davach as a unit in its own right.

Although it does appear that the davach was often the equivalent of two ploughgates and, therefore, a unit in the region of 200 acres, this must not be regarded as anything but

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80. That half-davach called Boleskine, Moray Reg., no. 74; the other half of the said davach which is called Cloveth, RMS, i, no. 474.
81. That half-davach in which the church of Insh (Badenoch) was situated, Moray Reg., no. 76; that half-davach in which is situated the church of Leochel, St A. Lib., 363.
82. Lettoch is derived from the Gaelic leth-dabhach, 'half-davach' and Haddo is a shortened form of half-davach. Haddo, in Cruden, appears as Haldavach in 1414, A.B. Coll., 381.
83. In east Aberdeenshire the place-name Haddo occurs in the parishes of Crimond, Cruden, Foveran, Fyvie, Methlick and Slains. There are no examples of the davach being used as a place-name in this area whereas in west Aberdeenshire the place-name Daugh is found in Cairnie, Inverurie, Kintore and Tarland parishes and Davo, also derived from davach, in the parish of Inverurie.

a nominal size and it is misleading to attempt to impose a uniform areal measurement upon the davach.[84] There is no doubt that the actual size of the davachs could vary greatly. For instance, the four davachs of Assynt comprised the whole of the parish of Assynt, a total of 119,677 acres.[85] However, the arable ground within each davach is limited and probably does not bear the proportion of one acre to one hundred.[86] Thus each of the davachs of Assynt was probably a unit of approximately 300 acres of arable land.[87] Although there may have been an enormous disparity in the area of some davachs their agricultural capacity was probably similar. The place-names, Davochbeg (Rogart), dabhach beg, 'small davach' and Little Daugh (Cairnie) clearly reveal that davachs were not uniform in size although the fact that these davachs were reckoned as being small suggests that the davach was a recognised size which could obviously vary. The system must have had some measure of equality in order to render it feasible. If a davach was the amount of land which was needed

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84. In respect of size the davach may be compared with the sulung, an English unit of land assessment unique to the county of Kent. It is thought that it normally consisted of 240 English acres (208 Scots acres) and that it was twice the size of the English ploughgate. The English ploughgate was normally reckoned at 120 English acres. R. Welldon-Finn, An Introduction to Domesday Book (London 1963), 105. It also compares closely with the size of the maenol of North Wales which was reckoned at 1024 Welsh acres or 256 English acres, the approximate equivalent of 200 Scots acres. Ancient Laws of Wales, ed. A. Owen, ii, 90.
85. The Statistical Account of Scotland, ed. Sir J. Sinclair (Edinburgh 1795), xvi, 184; Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, ed. F.H. Groome (Edinburgh 1885), i, 80.
86. This figure was suggested by a local crofter residing in Assynt.
87. For arable nature of the davach see below pp. 63-66.

to produce a vat of grain as a render this would obviously vary according to the nature of the soil and the farming skills employed. The positioning of natural boundaries, glens, streams and ditches would also affect the size of the units. This may not fully explain the scale of variation and it must also be noted that probably after setting out as a precise measure of land, land units gradually took on a more proportional value as new land was incorporated. Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch, writing in the mid-seventeenth century, noted that a davach in the Aberdeen-Banff district was tilled with four ploughs but when the woods were cut down four ploughs were no longer sufficient.[88]

The davach was a measure of arable land. The application of the term davach (whose derivation indicates a measurement of volume) to a unit of land implies a measure of either seed corn or grain and the documentary evidence of the early medieval period reveals that the character of the davach was strictly arable. This is indicated by numerous references to '<u>davata terre</u>' since <u>terra</u> normally refers to land which can be or is usually ploughed.[89] Davachs were frequently granted with meadows, common pastures and moors which further indicates that the davach itself was a measure of arable capacity.[90] According to Pennant the half-davach in Lochbroom comprised '96 Scotch acres of arable' and carried with it 'a competent quantity of mountain and grazing ground' outside

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88. Macfarlane, <u>Geog. Coll.</u>, ii, 272.
89. <u>Moray Reg.</u>, nos. 79, 122; <u>Arb. Lib.</u>, i, no. 208; <u>Abdn. Reg.</u>, i, 268, 273; Maitland, <u>Domesday Book and Beyond</u>, 450.
90. <u>Arb. Lib.</u>, i, nos. 74, 102, 242; <u>St. A. Lib.</u>, 363.

the davach.[91] A further clue to the arable nature of the davach may be found in the use of the word fortir. Grants of davachs in Ross were frequently accompanied by le fortyr.[92] It has been suggested that fortir means 'upper land', 'over land' and that it may be compared with the Welsh word gorthir, 'higher land'.[93] Thus le fortyr would represent the upland areas, seldom if ever ploughed, lying higher than the davach which must have represented the principal arable land. In the mid-thirteenth century the two davachs of Clintlaw and Balcashy (Angus) were granted to the abbey of Coupar Angus 'cum ... fortyris ad dictas dauahcs spectantibus'.[94] There are two Clintlaws in Lintrathen parish although one is now drowned by a reservoir. In the seventeenth century Clintlaw is rated as two ploughs.[95] This is clearly the thirteenth-century davach of Clintlaw.[96] The seventeenth-century record also refers to the second Clintlaw as 'Scheill of Clintlaw'.[97] This probably explains the expression 'cum ... fortyris ad dictas dauahcs spectantibus'. The more northerly Clintlaw was likely in origin an upland shieling attached to the davach of Clintlaw which was lower down the valley, hence fortir literally 'over land' or 'upper land'. In 1379 the Countess of Ross granted to her cousin, Hugh Munro, the davach of Contullich (Alness) and le fortyr of Ardoch.[98]

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91. Pennant, A Tour in Scotland, 314.
92. SRO GD 93/5, 93/6, 93/11, 93/15.
93. Barrow, Kingdom, 269.
94. C.A. Chrs., i, no. 55.
95. SRO GD 16/27/157.
96. C.A. Chrs., i, no. 55.
97. SRO GD 16/27/157. The fact that 'Scheill of Clintlaw' is rated as one plough need not upset the apparent equation of the thirteenth-century davach with two ploughs in the seventeenth century. As shielings became more permanent and began to be cultivated a little they would be bound to be brought into whatever rating system was prevailing.
98. SRO GD 93/11.

The davach lands of Contullich with le fortyris of Ardoch and Achvaich also appear in a charter of Robert Munro of Foulis in 1587.[99] In 1590 both Ardoch and Achvaich are called shielings.[100]

The arable nature of the davach is clearly illustrated in an early thirteenth-century grant to the church of the Holy Trinity of Spynie of the church of Arndilly with all rights pertaining to that church except the corn teinds of two davachs, namely Boharm and 'Adthelnachorth'.[101] These davachs were obviously grain-producing units of land. Abundant references to mills and multures in conjunction with grants of davachs also implies that the davach was a unit of land which could be ploughed, sown and harvested. The davachs of Clintlaw and Balcashy (Lintrathen) were granted with the mill belonging to the two davachs.[102] Of course, the davach must have included some pasture, if only because the plough cattle must graze. Between 1204 and 1211 Donald, Abbot of Brechin, granted the davach of Bolshan (Angus) to Arbroath Abbey free from all secular exaction pertaining to the said davach or animals therein.[103] It is unlikely that these animals were any other than those needed to draw the plough. Nor do impositions of carriage service and heriot upon the davach suggest that it was a measure of pasture rather than arable as these services could have been provided by

99. Munro Writs, no. 113.
100. Ibid., no. 123.
101. Moray Reg., no. 23. The church of the Holy Trinity of Spynie was the cathedral church of Moray before it moved to Elgin.
102. C.A. Chrs., i, no. 55.
103. Arb. Lib., i, no. 74 (bis).

the animals necessarily present on arable land.

However there may be an instance of davachs which practised pastoral rather than arable farming in Mearns. Between 1189 and 1195 Humphrey de Berkeley was granted forest rights over seven davachs in Mearns by King William I.[104] Soon afterwards he granted to Arbroath Abbey a summer shieling for 100 beasts and their followers and as many pigs and horses as required wherever they pleased in Tipperty, Corsebauld or Glenfarquhar.[105] Two davachs of Tipperty and one davach of Glenfarquhar were among the seven davachs named in King William's grant.[106] The place-name Dochfour (Inverness and Bona) do'ach phũir, 'davach of pasture' may provide another example of the davach as a pastoral ũnit.[107] The davach was probably adopted in pastoral regions but this does not detract from the argument that the davach was in origin and certainly between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries primarily a measure of arable land. Indeed the distribution of davachs as seen in documentary and place-name evidence indicates that they were found in the most fertile locations of those regions in which they were present.[108]

The davach was a tangible, permanent unit whose shape would largely be defined by natural boundaries. Davachs were constantly granted 'per rectas divisas suas', 'by their right bounds' although there is no known record of the bounds of a davach being perambulated

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104. RRS, ii, no. 346.
105. Arb. Lib., i, no. 89. (Tubertach, Crospath, Glenferkaryn).
106. RRS, ii, no. 346 (duas Tibberthas, Glenferkaryn).
107. The place-name Dochcarty (Fodderty) - do'ach qartaidh 'davach of the enclosure' probably refers to the corn enclosure. Watson, Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty, 100. Gart, airt- 'corn field, field of standing corn'. Dwelly, Gaelic-English Dictionary, 479.
108. See above pp.31-2 and appendices ii and iii.

and defined.[109] A 1263 grant of the land of Morton of Blebo (Kemback), which rendered service of one-third of a davach, refers to a ditch which was made as a boundary.[110] Moreover, the davach was commonly named and would, therefore, be an identified piece of land.[111] It has already been suggested that the half-davach was a permanent, established unit and other fractions of the davach also seem to have had some physical identity as they too had names.[112] The place-name element Kirrie, Gaelic ceathramh, 'quarter' may well relate to the davach in some cases and so Balcherry (Tain)- Gaelic Baile' a' cheathraimh may represent 'township of the quarter' (davach).[113] It is possible that the place-name Ochtow (Kincardine, Ross) Gaelic an t- ochdamh, 'the eighth part' was the eighth part of a davach as also Octobeg (Kiltearn) 'the small eighth part' (of a davach).[114]

Settlement davach-names in pett- and bal- suggest an equation of davach with township but there are also davach names in achadh - 'field' and it seems more likely that the davach was the arable land close to and around which would be

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109. Arb. Lib., i, nos. 242, 305.
110. NLS Adv. Ms. 34.6.24, 248-9.
111. For instance, the davach called Pittengardner (Fordoun), Arb. Lib., i, no. 242; the davach called Bolshan (Kinnell), ibid., no. 74 (bis); the davach called Kenny Muchardyn (now Kinnaniel, Lintrathen), ibid., no. 305.
112. See above p. 61 for discussion of the half-davach. The quarter-davach was sometimes named e.g. a quarter-davach called Raemoir (Banchory-Ternan), A.B. Coll., 618.
113. Watson, Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty, 33.
114. This view is held by Watson, Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty, 19, 89.

grouped the unit of settlement, the pett or baile.[115] The place-name Balendoch (Alyth), baile an dabhach, 'township of the davach' reveals that the davach and the township were not one entity. If the place-name Balcherry (Tain) did refer to the quarter-davach this indicates that fractions of a davach could also have townships attached to them. Thus a davach may have supported more than one settlement group. Given the size of the davach the notion of a multiple-township unit is perfectly acceptable. The davach was probably cultivated by a number of families holding the land jointly. This was almost certainly the case in the davach of Balmakewan (Marykirk) which was presumably held jointly by the sons of (mac) Eoghan.[116] It may also have been so in the davach of 'Petmengartenach' (now Pittengardner, Fordoun), which was presumably, if this is the meaning of this name, held by the sons of Gartenach.[117] Grants were normally made of fractions of a davach rather than a whole davach and only substantial landowners would hold a whole davach.

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115. There are many examples of both settlement and field davach-names such as Pittengardner (Fordoun), Arb. Lib., i, no. 242; Petcarene (now Tullochcurran, Kirkmichael), Moray Reg., no. 79; Balcashy (Lintrathen), C.A. Chrs, i, no. 55; Balbegno (Fettercairn), RRS, ii, no. 497; Auchinleish (Glenisla), C.A. Chrs., i, no. 111; Auchinzeoch (Fordoun), RRS, ii, no. 497. The fact that names in pett- are rated as two ploughgates in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is consistent with the notion that the davach was the equivalent of two ploughgates. Examples include Pitourie (Alvie), Pitmain (Kingussie), Pitgowan (now Balgowan, Laggan), Spalding Misc., iv, 296, 299, 304; Pitmudie (Lintrathen), SRO, GD 16/27/157. However, Pitewan (Lintrathen) is rated as three ploughs but that figure might be due to Pitewan taking in shieling ground at a later date. SRO, GD 16/27/157. For further discussion of the equation of davach and ploughgate see above pp. 54-60.

116. RRS, ii, no. 497.

117. Arb. Lib., i, no. 242.

Amongst the fractions of the davach the half-davach and the quarter-davach clearly occupied a special place. No other fraction appears regularly. Reference has already been made to the fact that the half-davach was an established, permanent unit and that it was the common endowment of parish churches.[118] There is evidence of half- and quarter-davachs which were named and both fractions also appear as elements in place-names.[119] The significant role of the half- and quarter-davach may be compared with the groupings of house units in early Dalriada. As shown above the system of assessment in Dalriada was based on the twenty house unit.[120] The lowest number of houses allotted to a leader of the Cenél Loairn septs was five, that is one-quarter of twenty, and of the numbers between five and twenty only ten and fifteen are recorded, in other words, a half and three-quarters of twenty.[121] Thus the system of assessment based on the davach was subdivided in the same way as the system of assessment based on the twenty house unit. Various units of assessment scattered throughout the British Isles were subdivided according to a quadripartite system.[122]

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118. See above pp. 61, 58.
119. See above pp. 51, 61, 67.
120. See above pp. 30-32.
121. See above p. 31. Three-quarters is not such a common fraction of the davach.
122. In Ireland the principal unit of assessment was the baile or baile biataigh which was divided into quarters. T. McErlean, 'The Irish Townland System of Landscape Organisation' in Landscape Archaeology in Ireland ed. T. Reeves-Smyth and F. Hamond, BAR British Series, 116 (1983), 317, 326. The maenol of North Wales was subdivided into four trefs. In South Wales the unit of assessment was the tref, again divided into quarters which were known as rhandirs. Ancient Laws of Wales, ed. A. Owen, ii, 90, 261, 263, 374. In the Isle of Man the unit of assessment was the treen which was divided into four quarterlands (Manx kerroo). R.H. Kinvig, The Isle of Man (Liverpool 1978), 14.

However, although the use of the quarter-land unit was widespread the prominent role accorded to the half-davach and the ten-house unit is not paralleled elsewhere perhaps implying that there was a close link between the davach and the twenty-house unit.

The house functioned as a unit of assessment in the north-east of Scotland, the area where the davach is found in its heaviest concentration.[123] It was shown above that the Gaelic place-name element cóig, 'five', may refer to 'five' (houses) rather than 'a fifth part'. In every case cóig place-names were found in groups of four not five.[124] An entry in the Gordon Rental of 1600 regarding the davach of Shevin and the cóigs of Strathdearn proves conclusively that cóig did not mean 'a fifth part'. The entry reads as follows:-

> 'Schephine (Shevin) - ane dauche (davach)
> Allester Mackintosche, younger, ane quarter, callit
> Choginfyntra (Coignafeuinternich)
> John Dowe McCoull, ane quarter, callit
> Choignechie (Coignashie)
> Lachlan Angoussoun, callit Cogyskallan (Coignascallan)
> Angus Willeamsoune, the fourt quarter, callit
> Cogynafern (Coignafearn). [125]

This entry indicates that the places embodying the Gaelic element cóig were, in fact, quarters rather than fifths. There were indeed four cóigs of Strathdearn rather than five as was formerly supposed and even more significant is the fact that each of these represented a quarter-davach. If cóig did represent 'five'

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123. See above pp. 39-40 and appendices ii and iii.
124. See above pp. 40-41.
125. Spalding Misc., iv, 309-10.

(houses) (and this can hardly be disputed in the light of the above rental entry), and was evidently rated at a quarter-davach this gives the important identification of the davach with the twenty-house unit. Also in the Gordon Rental the davach is equated with a 40 merkland assessment and assessment in merklands is also listed as so many units of land.[126] Dochanassie (davach of the station or stance), a 40-merkland, is listed as nineteen units, Mamore; also a 40-merkland, is listed as twenty units and Glenaves, a ten-merkland, is listed as five units.[127] Although Mamore is not specifically identified as a davach the fact that it was rated as a 40-merkland implies that it was a davach and Glenaves, as a ten-merkland, was probably a quarter-davach. This may be another example of the identification of the twenty-house unit with the davach and the five-house unit with the quarter-davach. Certainly in the light of the foregoing evidence it is a theory which cannot be readily dismissed. The evidence of the Arbuthnott houses may well represent the remnants of a system of assessment based on the house which was, at one time, in use throughout the north-east.[128] The individual houses may have fallen into desuetude although their familiar groupings into fives, tens and twenties may well have continued under the guise of the quarter-, half- and whole davach.

Attempts have been made to suggest some kind of correlation between the davach and the thanage. The thanage has been rated

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126. Spalding Misc., iv, 294, 310.
127. Ibid., iv, 294, 292, 294.
128. For Arbuthnott evidence see above p. 39.

by some historians as 48 davachs but the evidence seems to indicate that the thanage was a much smaller unit commonly composed of six davachs.[129] In 1369, Simon, thane of Conveth granted the six davachs of the thanage of Conveth to the Earl of Buchan.[130] Glenlivet was a thanage and a survey conducted in 1761 recorded that Glenlivet comprised six davachs.[131] In the account of the sheriff of Cromarty (1264 x 66) he paid 24 merks for six davachs which he held heritably of the king.[132] It is thought that the sheriffdom of Cromarty was erected from a thanage.[133] The six davachs of Rothiemurchus paid 24 merks annually and may have been a thanage.[134] The thanage of Cawdor may have been composed of three davachs as it was granted for a render of twelve merks each year.[135] The thanage of Glentilt amounted to three davachs of land.[136] In the case of Cawdor and Glentilt it may be that three davachs represented half of the thanage but none of this is conclusive and it is probable that the relationship of the davach and the thanage was a variable one. What does seem clear is that there is no sound evidence for postulating a thanage of 48 davachs. This would have been a very large unit indeed and quite out of line, for example, with the fourteenth-century assessment of the lordship of Badenoch as 60 davachs.[137]

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129. Dodgshon, Land and Society, 82.
130. Moray Reg., no. 244.
131. SRO RHP 2487.
132. ER, i, 26.
133. M. Mackenzie, Old Sheriffdom of Cromarty, 7.
134. Moray Reg., nos. 162, 448.
135. Cawdor Bk., 3.
136. SRO RH 1/2/111.
137. RMS, i, no. 382. For a distribution map of thanages and an approximation of their size in the north-east see Historical Atlas edd. McNeill and Nicholson, 126-7.

It has been suggested that the davach functioned as an ecclesiastical unit as well as an agricultural unit serving as a proto-parish before the boundaries of parishes began to be demarcated in the twelfth century.[138] But it is evident that the davach and the parish should not be directly equated as parishes were composed of more than one davach. The parish of Dunballoch (now Kirkhill) contained nine davachs whilst its neighbouring parish, Convinth, had eleven davachs.[139] The parish of Urquhart contained ten davachs deich dochan Urchudainn, 'the ten davachs of Urquhart'.[140] The parish of Assynt comprised four davachs.[141] Clearly there was no consistent district assessment based on the number of davachs in a parish.[142] Auchindoir, in Aberdeenshire, provides an isolated example of a davach name (Davachendor, perhaps meaning 'davach of water or streams') being applied to a place of parochial status although there was probably more than one davach in the parish.[143]

There are davach names associated with the church such as Davochmoluag (Fodderty) and Dochnaclear (Fodderty).[144] There are also davach names in kil- (Gaelic cill) Kilphedir (Kildonan)

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138. A. McKerral, 'The Lesser Land and Administrative Divisions in Celtic Scotland', PSAS 85 (1950-51), 61.
139. Moray Reg., no. 21.
140. W. Mackay, Urquhart and Glenmoriston. Olden Times in a Highland Parish (Inverness 1914), 440.
141. The Statistical Account of Scotland, ed. Sir J. Sinclair (Edinburgh 1795), xvi, 184.
142. In the Isle of Man at the beginning of the sixteenth century the number of treens (land unit similar to davach) in each parish varied from five to sixteen and they do not represent any regular mathematical sub-division of the parish. E. Davies, 'Treens and Quarterlands: A study of the Land System of the Isle of Man', Institute of British Geographers, 19-22 (1953-56), 102. For further discussion of treen, see below pp. 142-44.
143. Barrow, Kingdom, 273.
144. Davochmoluag - G. Do'ach Mo-luaig 'Mo Luag's davach', near Dingwall. Lughaid, commonly known as Mo Luag, was a contemporary of Columba. His chief church was in Lismore. He is supposed to have founded Rosemarkie. Dochnaclear, G. do'ach nan cliar probably means 'the clerics' davach' i.e. land that belonged to the church. Watson, Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty, 100, 101.

and 'Kyldreke' (Inverness-shire).[145] Names beginning with kil- indicate the presence of churches or at least hermits' cells.[146] It may be that a relationship did exist between the davach and the church but the evidence is insufficient to reach any conclusions. The significance of davach names associated with the church may be no more than that these davachs were church property. It has been shown above that churches were commonly endowed with half a davach in the north-east and in some cases with a whole davach.[147] Perhaps every davach, or possibly every half-davach, had its own shrine, chapel or church but it is doubtful if this could ever be proved. It does seem a likely hypothesis since the davach was a fairly large unit of a multi-township character serving a closely-knit, localised community where travel was severely limited. It has been argued that every treen (unit of land assessment) in the Isle of Man had a keeill (chapel).[148] More recently this theory has been dismissed as a 'traditional antiquarian belief' and further research is necessary to establish whether or not there was any significant relationship between the treen and the keeill in the Isle of Man.[149]

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145. Fraser, Sutherland, iii, no. 19; Fraser, Grant, iii, no. 15.
146. Nicolaisen, Scottish Place-Names, 128, 143. Nicolaisen argues that kil- names in the northern half of Scotland are in general not likely to be much younger than 800.
147. See above p. 58.
148. C.J.S. Marstrander, 'Treen og Keeill', Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, [henceforth NTFS] 8 (Oslo 1937), 413. These keeills were small, simple structures which may have served as places of prayer and praise for the first Christian missionaries rather than as places of congregational worship. Kinvig, The Isle of Man, 47.
149. B. Megaw, 'Norseman and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles', Scot. Stud., 20 (1976), 20.

The relationship of land unit to church has also been examined in Orkney where a survey of the old chapels was carried out at the beginning of this century.[150] The sites of 102 Christian chapels were identified in Orkney, the vast majority of which were found to be evenly distributed over the cultivated districts.[151] A detailed survey of the distribution of these chapels revealed a close correlation between the chapel and the urisland.[152] In a report for the Old Statistical Account Mr. George Low, minister of Harray and Birsay, wrote as follows:-

> 'Remains of popish chapels are many, because every eyrsland (urisland) of 18 pennyland had one for matins and vespers, but now all are in ruins'.[153]

A connection was also observed between burial grounds and urislands. At one time attendance at a funeral was compulsory for all inhabitants of the district. In the parishes of Harray, Birsay, St Andrews, Rendall and Firth the old burial districts were still remembered at the beginning of this century under the names of erslands or urslands.[154]

According to the Old Statistical Account the parish of Assynt, which comprised four davachs, had six burial grounds.[155] One of the burial grounds was situated at Inver Farm and thus served the inhabitants of the davach of Edraisk. Another was found further up the coast at Stoer Farm in the davach of Rowstore, significantly in the most fertile region of this davach. A

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150. J. Storer-Clouston, 'The Old Chapels of Orkney', SHR, 15 (1918), 89-105.
151. Ibid., 91.
152. Ibid., 95-104. The urisland may be seen as the Orcadian equivalent of the davach. See below pp. 140-42.
153. Ibid., 93.
154. Ibid., 94.
155. OSA, xvi, 203.

third was located at Nedd, a prominent area of settlement in the davach of Slish-a-chilish and a fourth (which has proved impossible to identify) was recorded as ach-na-hi-glash (for achadh na h' eaglais, 'kirk field') or Kirktown. It seems most likely that this would serve the population of the inland davach of Ard-Assint. The fifth burial ground was situated on an island, Oldany island, and its existence was probably due solely to this fact and the sixth, which was supposedly at Ardvar in the davach of Slish-a-chilish, appears not to have exis.ted.[156] Thus, in Assynt each davach appears to have had its own burial ground in which case there may well have been a direct relationship between the davach and the church similar to that which has been claimed for the urisland and the chapel in Orkney and the treen and the keeill in the Isle of Man. Any conclusions regarding this theme must await further research of the early Scottish church and in depth localised studies of the davach.

Davachs were granted in return for a variety of renders. One of the commonest renders during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was money. The earliest example of a davach being granted for a money ferme is found in 1199 and it would appear that money fermes fixed and heritable became increasingly popular from the beginning of the thirteenth century.[157] Consequently

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156. It has proved impossible to find any trace of it and local residents who were interviewed revealed that they knew nothing of this site and believed the burial ground at Nedd to be the only one in the area.
157. Arb. Lib., i, no. 305.

rents in kind became less common and occasionally grantees were given the option of paying in cash or in kind.[158] Grants of davachs for a money rent were not confined to any particular class of grantor but are found in royal and non-royal, secular and non-secular grants. The king, the religious house, the earl and the lesser landowner were all moving in the direction of a cash return on their lands. In a geographical sense davachs rendering in cash are not confined to one particular locality but are found scattered throughout that part of Scotland where the davach functioned as the principal land unit. The sum of money due from the davach varied considerably and it would appear that there was no common generally recognised amount payable. In terms of merks the render from one davach varied from one merk to eight merks.[159] The sum most frequently demanded was three merks.[160] In terms of pounds, shillings and pence the amount payable from one davach ranged from one shilling to four pounds.[161] The variation in the scale of the renders is not chronological and, therefore, is not readily explicable in terms of inflation. It would appear rather that it was left to the discretion of the individual grantor to decide the amount which the grantee of the davach should pay. Presumably this would be based partly on the economic viability of the particular davach and it probably also depended upon the relationship of the grantor with the grantee.

Another common render during this period was that known as blenche-ferme or alba firma: that is, a tenure free from financial

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158. Ibid., no. 305; C.A. Chrs., nos. 10, 38; Moray Reg., no. 80.
159. Spalding Misc., iv, 125-6; Moray Reg., no. 138.
160. C.A. Chrs., i, no. 38; Moray Reg., no. 80; ER, i, 26; A.B. Coll., 338.
161. Arb. Lib., i, no. 305; ER, i, 417.

or other restraints where a symbolic render was demanded as a token of the relationship between grantor and grantee. This normally took the form of a silver penny or a pair of white gloves.[162] In 1350, William, Earl of Ross, granted to Robert Little, son of Peter, the half-davach of 'Dachyn More' (Meikle Daan, Edderton), rendering one pair of Parisian gloves at Whitsunday in name of blenche-ferme, if asked.[163]

Lands granted to the church were usually given in free alms (in frankalmoign, or in liberam elemosinam). The early-medieval kings were very generous to the church and granted them vast extents of land for no tangible return, simply in exchange for prayers.[164] Secular lords also granted lands to the church in free alms. In the mid-thirteenth century Alan Durward granted to the abbey of Coupar Angus the two davachs of Clintlaw and Balcashy (Lintrathen) 'in free, pure and perpetual alms'.[165] However, there were exceptions and occasionally the church had to give more than a render of prayers. In 1232 Bishop Andrew of

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162. Fraser, Grant, iii, no. 15; Rev. A. MacDonald and Rev. A. MacDonald, The Clan Donald (Inverness 1896), ii, App. p. 744; SRO GD 1/30/2.
163. SRO GD 93/4. Presumably Parisian gloves were a certain fashion of glove, perhaps, though not necessarily, made in Paris. Dachynbeg (Little Daan) was granted c.1350 by Hugh of Ross to his armiger, William Marescal. These forms may possibly point to its being a diminutive of dabhach but the place stands at the confluence of two streams, and as there is an Old Irish word an, 'water', the name may be dà-an, 'two waters'. Watson, Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty, 26-7.
164. This generosity was to cause problems for royalty at a later date when finances were limited and James I is said to have called David I 'ane sair sanct to the croun'. W.C. Dickinson, Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603 (3rd edition revised and edited by A.A.M. Duncan, Oxford 1977), 120.
165. C.A. Chrs., i, no. 55.

Moray granted to Coupar Angus Abbey a davach of land called Tullochcurran (Kirkmichael) for a yearly rent of three merks.[166]

During the reign of King David I (1124-1153) the policy of granting land in return for knight-service was introduced into Scotland and gradually it spread north of the Forth-Clyde line.[167] Circa 1214, Earl David of Huntingdon, brother of King William I, gave to David de Audree (from the Honour of Huntingdon) the davach of Rescivet (Chapel of Garioch) in return for the tenth part of the service of one knight.[168] Almost 150 years later William, Earl of Sutherland granted to his brother, Nicolas, sixteen davachs in Sutherland in return for the service of one knight.[169] These are the only known surviving examples of davachs which were granted in return for knight-service and they do not indicate that a fixed amount of knight-service was due from the davach. As with money renders the amount required varied, presumably in relation to the economic productivity of the soil and the individual requirements of the grantor. In England between 1180 and 1220 changes in arms, armour and the techniques of war trebled the cost of maintaining a knight and the process of scaling-down the due quota of knight-service began. In Scotland the parallel process was the

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166. Ibid., i, no. 38. Noticeably this grant is non-secular. The bishops of Moray held many davachs of land in free alms but in granting land to another religious house they obviously wanted a cash return.
167. For a discussion of the development of knight-service see Barrow, Kingdom, 279-314.
168. SRO RH 1/2/33. K.J. Stringer, Earl David of Huntingdon 1152-1219 (Edinburgh 1985), 83, 87, 222-3. Between 1179 and 1182 Earl David was given the district of Garioch and he obviously proceeded to feudalize the region. Barrow, Kingdom, 299.
169. Fraser, Sutherland, iii, no. 19.

granting of fiefs for fractional service on a wider scale.[170] Less expensive service could also take the form of a light-armed soldier or mounted archer.[171] There are two surviving examples of davachs rendering archer service. Fergus, Earl of Buchan granted to John, son of Uhtred, three davachs of Fedderate (New Deer) for the service of one archer.[172] King William I granted to Ranulf the Falconer five davachs of land in Mearns for the service of one archer.[173] Again there is no consistency in the number of davachs which had to provide one archer. However, although it is clear that there was no fixed ratio between the number of davachs granted and the amount of knight-service demanded there is no example, in the limited evidence available, of the service of a knight being demanded from less than ten davachs whilst the less expensive feudal render of the archer was due from three and five davachs.[174]

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170. Duncan, Kingdom, 385.
171. RRS, ii, 55.
172. A.B. Coll., 407-9. The language of this document indicates that the concept of feudal tenure was understood and applied by a native earl in the north-east province of Buchan at the beginning of the thirteenth century.
173. RRS, ii, no. 497.
174. By an infeftment made about 1312 by David, Earl of Atholl in favour of Sir Robert Menzies, knight, Sir Robert received the thanage of Crannoch for the service of one archer. J.A. Robertson, Comitatus de Atholia. The Earldom of Atholl: its boundaries stated, etc. (printed for private circulation, 1860), 9-10. Perhaps this is another example of a thanage of approximately six davachs. See above pp. 71-72 and below pp.151-53. It has been suggested that a light-armed horsed soldier or mounted archer may represent $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ of a knight's service. Duncan, Kingdom, 387. The limited statistics available here render it impossible to add any significant contribution to this discussion.

Whether the davach was granted for a payment in cash or kind, a token payment, knight-service or simply in return for prayers it also carried with it the burden of forinsec service. Forinsecum servitium (forinsec service) has been described as the obligation of foreign service and contrasted with servitium Scoticanum which has been interpreted as service in the army within Scotland and these were thought to correspond to the old Saxon utwer and inwer.[175] However, it has since been argued that forinsecum servitium is a French-derived equivalent of servitium Scoticanum and this is made quite clear in some grants.[176] King William I restored the earldom of Mar to Morgrund, the lawful heir, to be held for the forinsec service, namely Scottish service, wont to be performed by his predecessors - 'faciendo ... forinsecum servicium videlicet servicium Scoticanum...'.[177] At the close of the thirteenth century William Moray, knight, received the land of Dalreoch (Dunning):

> 'faciendo inde ... forinsecum servicium domino Comiti de Stratheren quantum pertinet ad dictam terram scilicet servicium Scoticanum'.[178]

Forinsec or Scottish service, also called 'Scottish army', 'common army' or simply 'army', can best be seen as a service inherent in the land which must be rendered to the king over and above (hence foreign to) the feudal service imposed in the charter, the only difference being that the term Scottish service was used more frequently in charters concerning land in Scotia whereas south of the Forth the term forinsec service was the norm.

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175. APS, i, 12, n.2.
176. Highland Papers, ii, App. p. 227.
177. RRS, ii, no. 119.
178. Moray Reg., 469, no. 16.

In the early medieval period in Scotland north of the Forth forinsec service was assessed on the basis of the davach. King Alexander II granted the three davachs of Finlarg in Strathspey to the Bishop of Moray in return for forinsec service pertaining to the three davachs.[179] At the beginning of the fourteenth century Abbot Hugh of Dunfermline granted to Mariota, daughter of Richard Cook, half of Pitbauchlie (Dunfermline) in return for the forinsec service which pertains to one-third of a davach.[180] The bulk of the common army was made up of husbandmen and neyfs who would mainly serve as footsoldiers. Those of higher rank would normally serve on horseback. The army was organised on a provincial basis and was led by the mormaers or earls. According to Roger Howden, when King William I divided his army into three parts in 1174, he kept one division by him to besiege Alnwick Castle and sent out the other two divisions under the command of Earl Duncan of Fife, Earl Gillebrigde of Angus and Richard de Moreville who held the office of constable.[181] Jordan Fantosme's description of the Scots invasion of Northern England in 1173 clearly illustrates the role played by the earls in leading the common army:

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179. Ibid., no. 37.
180. Dunf. Reg., no. 339.
181. RRS, ii, 38. By this time the office of constable had grown in importance but it is unlikely that de Moreville took precedence over the earls in general command of the whole army under the king. Ibid., ii, 38.

> 'Now the King of Scotland has got his host ready; They were assembled at Caddonlea. They loved then the very trumpets Which would afterwards drive them from the land by force. They have gathered a great host from Ross and Moray; For certain Earl Colban (of Buchan) has not forgotten to bring his service. Lord, the Earl of Angus came with such great support, He had more than 300 Scots under his command'. [182]

Fantosme's mention of Ross and Moray supports the idea that the common army was based on the provinces since these provinces had no earls in 1173.[183]

Exemptions from forinsec service were rare. By the reign of William I royal confirmations of land charters normally included the phrase salvo servitio meo or nostro even when the grant was to a religious house and the pious donor had declared it free from all exactions or burdens of service. King William I confirmed to Arbroath Abbey a grant made by Donald, Abbot of Brechin of the davach of Bolshan (Kinnell) to be held in free alms 'salvo servicio meo'.[184] In the case of secular grants to religious houses the superior may have undertaken to perform the forinsec service due to the king on behalf of the monks and if not the monks probably passed the burden on to their vassals or tenants. In 1201, Adam, son of Abraham, granted to David Ruffus of Forfar land in Little Lour (Inverarity) and Kincriech (Inverarity) which David granted to the Cistercians of Coupar Angus although he remained liable for the forinsec service which was due from one davach in respect of Kincriech and from one-tenth of two davachs in respect of Little Lour.[185]

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182. Ibid., ii, 56.
183. Ibid., ii, 57.
184. Ibid., ii, no. 466.
185. C.A. Chrs., i, no. 11.

Although there are many references to forinsec service being assessed on the davach no document states exactly how much this service amounted to. This suggests that there was only one universal, recognised amount due. The wording of the documents which refer to forinsec service 'owed and accustomed' implies that there was a known amount of service payable from a davach of land.[186] If this was not the case it would surely have been necessary to describe the amount of service due in each document. Forinsec service was also assessed on fractions of a davach, particularly the quarter-davach and the half-davach. The land of Dunearn (Burntisland) was liable to the king for the forinsec service which pertained to half a davach.[187] The land of Raemoir (Banchory-Ternan) was liable to the king for the forinsec service which pertained to a quarter of a davach.[188] Demands for forinsec service from the quarter-davach imply that the amount of service paid by the whole davach was substantial. There are examples of service being levied from as little as one-fifth or one-sixth of a davach in the first half of the thirteenth century but this was not common.[189] At the beginning of the fourteenth century the forinsec service of half of the land of Pitbauchlie (Dunfermline) was assessed on one-third of a davach of land but it is rare to find forinsec service assessed on fractions of the davach other than the quarter- and the half-davach.[190]

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186. RMS, i, no. 474; Moray Reg., no. 264.
187. Gen. Coll., i, 523.
188. A.B. Coll., 618.
189. C.A. Chrs., i, no. 11; A.B. Coll., 338. There is only one known example of each of these fractions of the davach being used to assess forinsec service.
190. Dunf. Reg., no. 339. There are only two examples so far discovered of forinsec service being assessed on one-third of a davach. For the other example see below p. 86.

Some indication of the amount of service due from the davach may be found in an order given by Lachlan MacRuari, Lord of Garmoran, in 1304, that each davach of land shall furnish a galley of twenty oars.[191] Although this document is dealing with ship service it was undoubtedly part and parcel of the same system as army service.[192] King David II granted lands in Garmoran to Reginald, son of Roderick of the Isles:

> 'faciendo inde ... servicia tam per mare quam per terram ... debita et consueta ...'[193]

It seems reasonable to argue that if a davach supplied twenty men for service at sea it would supply the same number for service on land. Discrepancies in the amount of service seem unlikely particularly as many inland davachs would only ever supply army service. If, as would appear to be the case, the davach was made up of twenty units it seems perfectly feasible that each unit should supply one man.[194]

Assessments of forinsec service based on the quarter- or half-davach fit readily into this pattern.[195] Service due from one-fifth of a davach is also compatible.[196] Problems are encountered when forinsec service was assessed on one-third or one-sixth of a davach but these fractions need not negate the argument that the davach provided twenty men for forinsec service. Examples of service being levied on each of these fractions are rare and may

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191. CDS, ii, no. 1633. It was initially thought that this order referred to the inland district of Aboyne. Bannerman, Dalriada, 141. It more probably relates to the Garmoran lordship which includes the Uists, Barra, the small isles and the west coast of mainland Inverness-shire. B. Megaw, 'Note on Pennyland and Davoch in South-Western Scotland', Scot. Stud., 23 (1979), 75.
192. For further discussion of ship-service and its relationship with land units see below pp. 119-20 and pp. 158-60, 163-66.
193. RRS, vi, no. 73.
194. For a discussion of the davach of twenty units see above pp. 70-71 and below pp. 133-34.
195. According to this method of reckoning the quarter-davach would supply five men and the half-davach ten men.
196. One-fifth of a davach would provide four men.

well represent exceptional circumstances. Clearly the quarter- or half-davach along with the davach were the normal units for the assessment of military service. Fractions of a davach not readily divisible into twenty may have combined to return the required service taking it in turn to send an extra man. Alternatively, some system of payment in kind or a contribution of equipment or horses may have been adopted. In 1263 the land of Morton of Blebo (Kemback) was assessed at one-third of a davach and in terms of forinsec service it supplied the food of one man:

> '... et inveniendo in exercitu domini regis cibum unius hominis'. [197]

The terms of this may represent a very favourable grant as the burden of service was evidently so much lighter than it was in Lachlan MacRuari's lands.

The burden of assessment borne by the davach at the beginning of the fourteenth century would appear to be very similar to that of the twenty-house unit of seventh-century Dalriada. As stated above, the twenty-house unit provided two seven-benchers, that is 28 men, for service at sea.[198] This is not very far removed from the twenty men who were being demanded from the davachs in the Garmoran lordship in 1304.[199] As units upon which military service was assessed the twenty-house unit and the davach clearly fulfilled a similar function. The fact that both units were responsible for providing a similar quota of men may indicate that

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197. NLS Adv. Ms. 34.6.24, 248-9.
198. See above p. 30.
199. CDS, ii, no. 1633.

the similarity between the two extended beyond the fact that they both served as units of taxation. In order to supply a similar number of men presumably the twenty-house unit and the davach were capable of supporting a comparable population.

It is possible that the forinsec service of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had evolved from the army service of seventh-century Dalriada. Common army was at least as old as King David I's reign and probably much older. The Culdees of Loch Leven were to hold their lands 'sine exercitu', 'without army' in the reign of Macbeth and Gruoch.[200] North of the Forth the very Scottishness of the system was surely a mark of its antiquity. The word Scottish (Scoticus, Scoticanus) was employed in the twelfth century and much of the thirteenth century to distinguish anything recognised as belonging to the older order before the advent of French or Middle English speech and customs, and with special reference to the country north of the Forth-Clyde line.[201] The earliest known reference to military service in Scotland is that found in the Senchus Fer nAlban where the number of armed men available for a slóġad or hosting from each of the three chief peoples in Dalriada is listed.[202] The function and importance of the slóġad during this period is indicated in the early eighth-century Crith Gablach. According to Crith Gablach it was one of the three pledges which a king

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200. ESC., no. 5. Macbeth ruled between 1040 and 1057.
201. To this category belong roads, mills and ploughgates described as 'Scottish' as well as the boll of corn known as the 'Scottish mela'. G.W.S. Barrow, 'Army Service in Early Medieval Scotland', Unpublished Presidential Address, Scottish History Society (1976), 9.
202. Bannerman, Dalriada, 48-9.

could bind upon his people (túath).[203] Three types of slóġad are listed: firstly, a hosting within the border to repel an invading army, secondly, a hosting to the border to guard against a threatened invasion, and, thirdly, a hosting across the border (by an over-king) against a rebellious túath.[204]

Forinsec service was equally important during the early medieval period. This is implicit in the reluctance of kings to grant exemptions from military service even to the most highly privileged churches such as Dunfermline Abbey.[205] It seems clear that there was in pre-feudal Scotland 'a well-known obligation of military service, probably on the whole population, but certainly upon all occupiers of land' which may be traced back to the seventh century and which continued into 'the feudal period' as forinsec or Scottish service, remaining throughout 'the true basis of the system of national defence' making possible not only the wars of Malcolm III, of 1136-9, 1173-4 and 1215-17, but also the long and successful struggle for independence.[206] As the unit upon which forinsec service was assessed during the early medieval period the davach obviously fulfilled an important role as one of the fundamental units of society.

In addition to fighting service, aid (auxilium, commune auxilium, geldium regium) was also assessed on the basis of the davach. Aid was an extraordinary taxation which was raised for various purposes such as paying a ransom or a marriage treaty. The most frequent

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203. CG, 20, 106.
204. Ibid., 20, 106.
205. RRS, ii, no. 396.
206. Highland Papers, ii, 234-5; Dickinson, Scotland from Earliest Times, 53.

mention of aids in conjunction with davachs occurs in exemptions. When Alexander III granted three davachs in Strathspey to the Bishop of Moray the lands were to be held quit of aids.[207] A grant to Arbroath Abbey, by Alexander II, of four and three-quarter davachs was to be held free from the common aid pertaining to these davachs although Alexander did not relieve them of the burden of forinsec service.[208] One reference to common aid assessed on the davach which was not an exemption is found in a grant of King Robert I to Thomas Randolph of the earldom of Moray from which was due as much Scottish service and aid as is owed and accustomed from each davach:

> '... et Scoticanum servitium et auxilium de singulis davatis debitum et consuetum tantummodo...'.[209]

In the first half of the twelfth century, Colbán, mormaer of Buchan, Éva, his wife, and Donnchad, tóisech of Clann Morgainn quenched all grants in favour of the monastery of Deer in return for the dues on four davachs' [worth] of that which should devolve on the chief religious houses of Scotland in general and on its chief churches.[210] That which should devolve would seem to mean a national tax and it may well have been common aid.[211] That the method of assessing aid based on the davach (in those regions where the davach was the principal land unit), was successful is

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207. Moray Reg., no. 37.
208. Balm. Lib., 60.
209. Moray Reg., no. 264.
210. Jackson, Deer Notitiae, 35.
211. This view was suggested by Jackson, Deer Notitiae, 123. However this more than likely refers to cain.

evident from the vast payments paid under treaty with England in 1190 and 1209.[212]

It would appear that the ancient Gaelic due of conveth was assessed on the davach although the evidence is somewhat limited. At some time before 1214 the chapter of the church of Dunkeld quitclaimed and surrendered to Lindores Abbey the conveth and rent which they were accustomed to receive from the half-davach of Redgorton (Redgorton) for the use of the macleins and scolocs.[213] Conveth, from coinnmed, means literally the act of billeting or quartering, that is, the right of a lord to demand lodgings for himself and his followers from his clients. It may be compared with the service of cóe, 'guesting or entertainment', which is recorded in the seventh and eighth-century Gaelic law tracts.[214] The most detailed evidence for the realities of conveth in early medieval Scotland is contained in the depositions of witnesses called before an ecclesiastical court at Perth on 10 April, 1206.[215] The

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212. Probably in 1190 an aid was agreed at Musselburgh or at Holyrood for the payment of 10,000 merks to Richard I. RRS, ii, no. 326 shows that an aid was agreed at Musselburgh 'postquam auxilium assisum fuerit apud Muxelbur', but Fordun places the assembly at Holyrood. Duncan has suggested that these may represent separate grants by prelates and barons, though it would be curious if the clergy assembled at Musselburgh, the barons at Holyrood Abbey. In 1209 a great assembly met at Stirling to grant a further aid of 15,000 merks to King John of England. Duncan, Kingdom, 212, n.54.
213. Lind. Cart., no. 33.
214. J. Bannerman, 'The Lordship of the Isles' in Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century, ed. J. Brown (London 1977), 221.
215. Spalding Misc., v, 209-13.

case concerned a long-standing dispute between the church of St Andrews, represented by the bishop, and the baronial tenants-in-chief, successors to the earlier thanes of Arbuthnott in Mearns. Fourteen men, the longest of whose memories stretched back for more than 47 years, testified that the bishops of St Andrews had always been acknowledged as the direct lords of the church lands, or Kirkton, of Arbuthnott. Many declared that they had seen two, three or four different bishops given hospitality at the Kirkton by their tenants. The parson of Neudosk and a certain Gillipeder affirmed that Bishops Robert, Arnold, Richard and Hugh had received their conveth from their own men of Arbuthnott, while Somerled of Fetteresso added the significant information that Bishop Roger, while on his progress, had declined to take his conveth at Arbuthnott because of the poverty of the tenants.[216] In this instance conveth was clearly being conveyed in its original sense as a night's hospitality whereas the conveth granted to the macleins and scolocs of Dunkeld was probably an allowance of food. The school of Dunblane received conveth, probably also to be understood as an allowance of food, which they later quitclaimed in return for a yearly payment of two shillings.[217] Thus conveth was eventually commuted for a money payment.

This may be compared with the Welsh <u>gwestfa</u> - the entertainment or maintenance allowance paid to the king by freemen holding free land. Originally <u>gwestfa</u> was payable

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216. Ibid., v, 209-13.
217. <u>Lind. Cart.</u>, no. 46.

in kind but the process of commutation had progressed considerably by the time of Hywel Dda (who ruled during the first half of the tenth century) when gwestfa as a definite assessment was regarded as equivalent to a pound (240d). This was designated the tunc pound and it was levied from the maenol in North Wales and from the tref in South Wales.[218] It has already been noted that the maenol and the tref were units similar in size to the davach and it seems that they also fulfilled a similar function in the assessment of hospitality dues.[219] Both gwestfa and conveth were used as place-names. In Wales this is clearly seen in medieval Cardiganshire where gwestfas were rural districts with clearly demarcated boundaries which appear in many instances to be more or less co-extensive with the boundaries of parishes.[220] In Scotland conveth is found as the name of parishes in Inverness-shire, Banffshire and Mearns.[221] These may well have been the centres at which conveth was payable.

In early medieval documents conveth is frequently coupled

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218. Ancient Laws of Wales, ed. A. Owen, ii, 91, 96, 260, 375.
219. Both the maenol, which was reckoned at 1024 Welsh acres (approximately 200 Scots acres) and the tref (approximately 240 Scots acres) compare closely with the davach (200 acres) in terms of size. See above pp.54-60. It is impossible to draw any parallels regarding the assessment of military service as men did not hold land in return for military service in early Wales. It was a right incidental to status and was claimed and exercised by freemen as their birthright. Once a year it was necessary for all freemen to go in the host with the king to a border country if he so desired and in his own country it was necessary to accompany the king in the host at his will. A.M. Wade-Evans, Welsh Medieval Law (Oxford 1909), 208; Ancient Laws of Wales, ed. A. Owen, ii, 376.
220. T. Jones-Pierce, 'Medieval Cardiganshire - A Study in Social Origins', Ceredigion, 3 (1956-9), 274.
221. I. Cowan, The Parishes of Medieval Scotland, SRS, 93 (Edinburgh 1967), 35.

with another ancient due namely cain.[222] In Gaelic cain is used in the sense of tax or tribute. In the early medieval period it normally consisted of a payment in kind, usually in hides and cheeses.[223] Although there is no direct evidence linking cain with the davach it seems most likely that in Scotia it was levied on the basis of the davach in the same way as army service, aid and conveth were assessed. There are indications that carriage service was also assessed on the davach. The service of eight horses for carting once a year was demanded from each davach of the thanage of Glendowachy (Banffshire).[224] The three davachs of the thanage of Glentilt (Atholl) were required to provide carriage of four horses for one week in the year if asked.[225]

As the unit upon which these various services were assessed in Scotia the davach clearly occupied a prominent position in the fiscal workings of early medieval society. Its roots were obviously deeply embedded in the soil of Scotland north of the Forth as its position was not usurped by the onset of feudalism. This was partly due to the fact that many of the institutions and services of the older Celtic order continued to flourish. The common army and the knightly army existed side by side and, as already remarked, the important role of the common army, which was levied on the davach, cannot be over-stressed. Landholders who owed knight service were not normally exempt from common

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222. Scottish cain corresponds to the cornage or noutgeld of northern England and to the commorth paid to the princes of Wales. RRS, ii, 52. For further discussion of cain see below p. 120.
223. RRS, i, 57, 243, 245.
224. RMS, i, App. i, no. 5.
225. SRO RH 1/2/111.

army. In 1325 King Robert I confirmed various lands to the Earl of Moray for the service of eight knights and Scottish service and aid of each davach owed and accustomed.[226] The role of the davach was further secured by the fact that the new-fangled notion of knight-service was demanded as a render from the davach and although those responsible for the introduction of Anglo-Norman innovations to Scotland north of the Forth did attempt to introduce a new unit of land assessment (the ploughgate) to Scotia they did not succeed in replacing the davach to any great extent. It continued to be used as the principal assessment unit north of the Forth and surely this bears further testimony to the stability and practicability and, perhaps, antiquity of the system of land assessment based on the davach.

Although there is no surviving documentary reference to the davach before the mid-twelfth century notes in the Book of Deer this need not imply that the davach was something new at this time. The fact that it appears in a Gaelic document in the 1130s is an indication that it was a pre Anglo-Norman institution and indeed one of the notes, a grant by King Malcolm II who reigned between 1005 and 1034, suggests that the davach was in use at least one hundred years earlier. An analysis of the dating of early medieval charters which refer to davachs reveals that there were relatively few before 1200, becoming more numerous in the thirteenth century, a tendency which continued into the fourteenth century. This may suggest that the davach was something new, spreading gradually between the twelfth and

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226. RMS, i, App., no. 31.

the fourteenth centuries. But, as soon as there is any evidence of the davach it is found throughout the north-east and there is no indication that it was spreading from any particular centre-point. Although there is no evidence of the davach in the west until the end of the thirteenth century this is almost certainly due to a lack of surviving material dealing with this area. If the davach was a new unit which spread gradually during this period surely it should have become more widely distributed over Scotland as the kingdom was more unified by this time. Furthermore, from the beginning of the twelfth century the impetus for new ideas was coming from the south, from English and French speakers and a major innovation from any of the areas where the davach is found seems unlikely at this time.

It is quite possible that the davach was as common in the twelfth as in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The explanation may be one of chance survival: that more documents concerning davachs have survived from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries than from the twelfth. It may be that the increase in references to davachs is relative to the increase in documentation during this period. Certainly the use of the written grant was becoming more common. Moreover, landlords and their clerks in the twelfth century, many of whom were foreigners, were possibly reluctant to use native terms such as davach, especially in Latin documents but as they became familiar with them they would gradually begin to adopt them.[227]

The fact that the davach was familiar in royal and non-royal, secular and non-secular grants of the twelfth century suggests that it was an established unit functioning as a mature system of land assessment by the time it is perceived in early documents like the Notitiae in the Book of Deer.

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227. This view was suggested by G.W.S.Barrow. See Barrow, Kingdom, 267. For further discussion of this see below pp. 224-30.

The major clue to the origin and antiquity of the davach as a land measure lies in its curious distribution pattern.[228] There must be a common denominator linking the north-east, the west-highlands and islands and the south-west. It has been argued that the davach is a Pictish measure of land.[229] Certainly it appears that its distribution is at its most dense in what was the kingdom of the Picts but there is also evidence of davachs outwith the sphere of Pictish influence. Also, its distribution may be partly influenced by the imbalance of surviving documentary sources as material relating to the north-east is prolific compared with what exists for the west. Furthermore, it is possible that if the davach was a very old unit it may have been replaced in some areas even by the early medieval period.[230] Comparisons made of the distribution of davachs with that of Pictish symbol-stones and place-names in '<u>pett</u>'- have been used to support the theory of a Pictish davach but these may reflect no more than a preference for the best land by different peoples.[231] If the davach was Pictish presumably it would have been pushed back from the best land by the Gaelic settlers. Moreover, if the davach was a Pictish unit it is rather odd that davach is not a Pictish word but a Gaelic word.[232] Indeed there is far more evidence linking the davach with the Scots than with the Picts.

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228. See appendices ii and iii.
229. Barrow, <u>Kingdom</u>, 273; Jackson, <u>Deer Notitiae</u>, 117.
230. See below pp. 132-33.
231. Barrow, <u>Kingdom</u>, 273.
232. See above p. 45.

In the first instance there is evidence of Scottish influence in all parts of Scotland where the davach functioned as a land unit. The Scots settled in Dalriada (Argyll and its islands) in the late-fifth and early-sixth centuries and their influence spread gradually until the west coast northwards to Wester Ross and the rest of the western isles were incorporated into the Scots kingdom. The Scots also penetrated eastwards from an early date and the Scoticisation of Pictland was probably well under way by the time of the union of the Picts and Scots under Kenneth MacAlpin, King of Scots, about 843. Apparently there was an early settlement of Gaelic speakers from Ireland in Galloway probably contemporary with the Gaelic settlement in Argyll. This has been recognised mainly from place-name evidence and notably from the distribution of the elements sliabh, 'hill' and carraig, 'rock, cliff'.[233] Apart from Galloway, place-names in sliabh and carraig are practically confined to the known area of the original Dalriadic settlement in Scotland. A second main Gaelic settlement in Galloway began in the early tenth century and it was those settlers who created the great majority of the Gaelic place-names in Galloway.[234]

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233. For a discussion of these elements see J. MacQueen, 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', Scot. Stud., 17, pt. i (1973), 17-33; W.F.H. Nicolaisen, Scottish Place Names (London 1976), 39-46.

234. See MacQueen, 'Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', 27; J. MacQueen, 'Kirk and Kil in Galloway Place Names', Archivium Linquisticum, 8 (1956); A. MacDonald, 'Gaelic Cill (Kil(l)-) in Scottish Place-Names', Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society, 2nd ser, 2 (1979); W.F.H. Nicolaisen, 'Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland', Scot. Stud., 4 (1960), 49-70.

The close resemblance of the davach to the twenty-house units of Dalriada also links the davach with the Scots. The division of the davach into halves and quarters may be compared with the sub-division of the twenty-house unit into five- and ten-house units. There is also evidence of davachs associated with groups of twenty, explicitly in the north-east where the four cóigs, 'fives' of Strathdearn were the four quarters of the davach of Schevin and implicitly in the west where each davach of land in Lochaber was required to provide twenty men for ship service.[235] Also, both the twenty-house unit and the davach supplied a similar quota of men for military service.

The likeliest hypothesis is that the davach originated as a land measure with the Scots of Dalriada at some time after 650 and before 850. The Senchus Fer nAlban clearly indicates that the system of assessment of the Scots circa 650 was based on the house and the twenty-house unit. If the davach was taken eastwards into Pictland with the Scots it must have been well-established in Dalriada by the mid-ninth century. The house was not a land measure ab origine and it was perhaps when assessment began to be reckoned in terms of land rather than people that the twenty-house unit became the davach. Possibly a group of twenty housholds

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235. Spalding Misc., iv, 309-10; CDS, ii, no. 1633. For further discussion of groups of twenty in the west see below pp. 104-107.

paid a vat of grain as a render and through time this came to be identified with the land they occupied and came to be applied as a method of assessment. The individual house unit continued to be used alongside the davach. This is evident from its presence in the north-east where it was clearly linked to the davach.[236] In the west also individual units continued to be grouped into twenties long after the twenty-house unit ceased to exist.[237]

In the south-west there is no direct evidence for the house in the sense of a land measure or as a fiscal unit and it seems most likely that the davach was introduced to this area in the second major wave of Gaelic settlement during the tenth century.[238] It is most unlikely that the davach had reached the south-west before this as the earlier Gaelic settlers of Galloway came direct from Ireland where there is no evidence of the davach being applied in the sense of a land measure. Even if the house did exist in Galloway, and this possibility must remain, it seems unlikely that an identical system of land assessment would evolve

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236. Spalding Misc., iv, 309-10.
237. Groupings in twenties in the west is discussed in detail. See below pp. 104-107.
238. By this time the house in the west had been replaced by the pennyland, a unit which is also found in the south-west. See below chapter four.

independently in two distinct areas without any influence of one upon the other and it seems far more likely that the davach reached the south-west via the west highlands and islands. Thus, it seems clear that by the time documentary material first becomes available the davach had been in operation as a system of land assessment for several centuries and was already a unit of considerable antiquity well-entrenched in, and indispensable to, the fiscal and agrarian mechanisms of early medieval society.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PENNYLAND

The earliest known documentary reference to the pennyland as a unit of land assessment is found in a grant dated circa 1170 by which Baldwin, sheriff of Lanark gave to Paisley Abbey the church of Inverkip with one pennyland.[1]

In documentary evidence the pennyland normally appears in the Latin form denariata terrae and occasionally as nummata terrae. One document refers to both:

> 'quinque denariatas cum dimidia sive nummatas terrae'. [2]

In one grant, pre 1200, of Duncan, Earl of Carrick to the monastery of North Berwick the Scots vernacular term 'penilandis' is used.[3] These are simply translations or representations for documentary purposes of the Gaelic term peighinn used in the sense of a unit of assessment. Etymologically peighinn is derived from Old English pening, pending, penning, 'penny'. It has been suggested that it was named after the seventh-century Mercian king Penda.[4] However, the suffix -ing, which occurs in other names of coins - shilling, farthing - bespeaks a Teutonic formation on a radical element pand or pan(n). This has been sought in West German pand, Old High German pfant, 'pawn', with reference to a possible use of the panding and in West German panna, German pfanne, 'pan', with possible reference to shape.[5] Presumably in its application

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1. Pais. Reg., 112.
2. NLS, MS Adv. 20.3.6. ff 3-4 (Hutton's Collections).
3. NLS, MS Adv. 20.3.9. f. 287 (Hutton's Collections).
4. B. Megaw, 'Note on Pennyland and Davoch in South-West Scotland', Scot. Stud., 23 (1979), 76; Scéla Cano Meic Gartnáin, ed. D.A. Binchy (Dublin, 1963), 22.
5. Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford 1909), vii, 646-7.

to land it represented the amount of land which paid tax to the value of a pennyweight.

A study of the geographical distribution of the pennyland based on documentary and place-name evidence reveals that it was found in four principal areas of Scotland namely the western isles and western seaboard, the south-west, Caithness and the northern isles.[6] As far as the western seaboard is concerned pennylands named in documentary sources have been located in Kintyre, Cowal, Knapdale, Lorn, Morvern, Ardnamurchan, Sunart, Moidart, Lochaber, Knoydart and Kintail. They are also found in the majority of the western isles with a particularly dense concentration in Mull.[7] Place-names in peighinn or its subdivisions lethpheighinn, 'half-pennyland' and fàirdean, 'farthingland', which also occur as place-names, are found in most parts of the western seaboard and the western isles.[8] They are noticeably absent, as are documentary references to pennylands, from the Islay group of islands, that is Islay, Colonsay and Jura. In the west, with the exception of the Islay group of islands, the pennyland was found in heaviest concentration in what was once the kingdom of Dalriada.[9] In the south-west there is documentary and/or place-name evidence

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6. As with davachs, pennylands too were named in documentary record and it has been possible to locate many of these on the 1" O.S. map. But pennylands of the south-west often proved impossible to identify and therefore the number shown on the map is not an accurate reflection of the number of pennylands documented for this area. The penny (peighinn) was also used as a place-name element, again similar to the davach, and these names can be used to help determine the distribution pattern of the pennyland.
7. See appendix iv.
8. See appendix v.
9. The kingdom of Dalriada is discussed above. See p. 27.

for pennylands in Ayrshire, Wigtownshire, the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, Dumfriesshire and Lanarkshire.[10] Pennylands are found in concentration to the north of the region, particularly in the river-valleys of Carrick, the southern part of Ayrshire. As with peighinn place-names lethpheighinn and fairdean names are also most common in Ayrshire. The most easterly pennylands of the region are found in Nithsdale where there is considerable place-name and documentary evidence. In Lanarkshire the evidence is limited to two peighinn place-names, perhaps an indication that the pennyland system of assessment was not as well established in this district.

Documentary references to pennylands in the east mainland of Scotland are confined to the northernmost district of Caithness where it is evident that the pennyland was a common unit.[11] There are a few examples of pennyland place-names in Caithness.[12] Pennylands are also found in Orkney in great abundance. It would appear that the pennyland was in use in Shetland also at one time although apparently it became obsolete at an early date as there is only one reference to it, in 1299.[13] There are pennyland place-names in Orkney but the pennyland does not seem to have been used as a place-name element in Shetland.[14] There is no evidence of peighinn or pennyland place-names outwith the areas where pennylands recorded in documentary sources have been located.[15]

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10. See appendices iv and v. For a discussion of pennyland place-names see MacQueen, 'Pennyland and Davoch', 69-74.
11. See appendix iv.
12. These are restricted to forms of pennyland. Pennyland (near Thurso), Sixpennyland (Halkirk), Midpenny (Lairg) and Fourpenny (Dornoch) are the only known examples. There is no evidence for the use of Gaelic terms.
13. W. Thomson, 'Urisland and Pennyland in Orkney and Shetland' (St John's House publication, University of St Andrews forthcoming).
14. Ibid.
15. Circa 1140 King David I confirmed to the monks of Urquhart a grant of Pethenach, near Eren. ESC, no. 128. It has been suggested that Pethenach is now Penick, Gaelic a' pheighinneag, 'the little pennyland', near Auldearn church (Auldearn). Watson, CPNS, 229. It seems more likely that it is a pit- name.

Although the pennyland is found as a land unit in the western seaboard and western isles, the south-west, Caithness and the northern isles it does appear that these areas did not share an identical system of pennyland assessment. In the west highlands and islands pennylands were commonly grouped in twenties. In 1537 King James V granted the twenty pennyland of Glennevis to Donald Cameron, son of Ewen Alanson, chief of Clan Cameron.[16] In 1539 he granted to Alexander 'McKane McAlister' of Glengarry certain dues of the twenty pennyland of Slysmonych of Glengarry.[17] In 1585 the twenty pennyland of Bracadale in Skye passed hands from one William MacLeod to a certain Janet Mackintosh.[18] In the mid-thirteenth century Ewen of Argyll granted to the bishop of Argyll fourteen pennylands in Lismore and at the beginning of the fourteenth century the bishop of Argyll received a further five and a half pennylands in Lismore from the same family.[19] It seems likely that the groups of pennylands granted in each instance belonged to the same twenty-pennyland unit. The same may be true of the thirteen pennyland of 'Borrow' in Benbecula and the seven pennyland of 'Borrowneishivichterrach' which appear together in an instrument of sasine in 1625.[20] In 1537 James V granted to Donald Cameron the 60 pennylands of Knoydart, presumably three twenty-pennyland units.[21] Sunart was described in the eighteenth century as 60 pennylands, again probably three units each of twenty pennylands.[22]

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16. RMS, iii, no. 1721.
17. OPS, ii, pt. i, 185.
18. The Book of Dunvegan, ed. Canon R.C. MacLeod of MacLeod (Aberdeen 1938).
19. SRO RH 1/2/49; RH 1/2/79.
20. SRO GD 201/1/10.
21. RMS, iii, no. 1721.
22. OPS, ii, pt. i, 199.

As well as large numbers of pennylands which reflect groupings of twenties smaller numbers also indicate a system based on a twenty-pennyland unit. Although the number of references to pennylands varies over the centuries the denominations of one penny, five penny and ten pennylands occur most frequently in any century. For example, 33% of thirteenth-century grants of pennylands were in units of five pennylands and the five-pennyland unit comprised 25% of fourteenth-century grants of pennylands. When Reginald, son of Somerled, Lord of the Isles, founded the monastery of Saddell he endowed it with a total of twenty pennylands, one unit of ten pennylands and two units of five pennylands.[23] A sixteenth-century grant of 120 pennylands was made up solely of five pennyland and ten-pennyland units, nine ten-pennyland units and six five-pennyland units.[24] Clearly the five pennyland and ten-pennyland as a quarter and a half of the twenty-pennyland were important units.

Further evidence that pennylands were grouped in twenties is revealed by the fact that many grants of various denominations of pennylands add up to five, ten or twenty pennylands. King Robert I confirmed a grant to Gillespic, son of Walter of:

> six pennylands of 'Gereag', four pennylands of 'Gelachcarchen', four pennylands of 'Ardowran', one pennyland of 'Strengchroschian', one pennyland of 'Fynglennan', one pennyland of 'Lochane', one pennyland of 'Dernglek', one pennyland of 'Garbech' and one pennyland of 'Garcowaell' in Cowal -

a total of twenty pennylands.[25] In 1541, John Campbell of Glenorchy granted to Alexander MacDougall:

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23. Highland Papers, iv, 146-9. Reginald, son of Somerled, founded the abbey of Saddell circa 1250.
24. OPS, ii, pt. ii, App. p. 829.
25. RMS, i, App. p. 480, no. 107.

> two pennylands of 'Culycharran', one pennyland of 'Glentarne', three pennylands of 'Innerirgan', one pennyland of 'Cadderlymore', two pennylands of 'Barnacarrig' and one pennyland of 'Awchtyhech'

in Lorn - making a total of ten pennylands.[26] Groupings of fifteen pennylands, that is three-quarters of the twenty-pennyland unit, are also evident. In 1449, John, Lord of the Isles, granted to his brother, Hugh, a total of fifteen pennylands in North Uist.[27] In 1375, John of Prestwick sold to Colin Campbell half of the fifteen-pennyland lying in the upper barony of Lochawe.[28] The two and a half pennyland, that is one-eighth of the twenty-pennyland unit, was also common.[29]

Place-names also serve to highlight the fact that pennylands in the west highlands and islands were grouped in twenties. Both a quarter and a half of the twenty-pennyland unit are represented in place-names. A charter of King David II refers to the lands called 'Five Pennyland' (Argyll) and a confirmation charter of James IV mentions the lands known as 'Tenpennyland' (Argyll).[30] Five Penny Ness and Five Penny Borve, both in Lewis, can still be located on the one-inch ordnance survey map.[31]

It seems clear that a similar system of pennyland assessment prevailed in the south-west where pennylands were also grouped in twenties. The twenty-pennyland unit was occasionally granted although this was obviously a substantial grant of land.[32] There are many examples of grants of pennylands

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26. OPS, ii, pt. i, 155.
27. Ibid., ii, pt. i, 374.
28. Ibid., ii, pt. i, 130.
29. Highland Papers, ii, 121, no. 1; ibid., ii, 140, no. 10; Dunvegan Book, 52, no. 2; RMS, ii, no. 2202; OPS, ii, pt. i, 190.
30. RMS, i, App. 2, Index B, p. 582, no. 7; ibid., ii, no. 2702.
31. Five Penny Ness at NB 525.647 and Five Penny Borve at NB 407.560. Five Penny names may be compared with cóig (five) place-names in the north-east. See above pp. 40-41, 70-71.
32. RMS, vi, no. 553; ibid., vi, no. 432.

in groups of five and ten pennylands.[33] The two and a half pennyland unit was also common.[34] The place-name Forty Penny Hill (Carsphairn) reinforces the notion that pennylands were grouped in twenties in the south-west.[35] Not very far from Forty Penny Hill lies Glenmuir (Auchinleck) which was described as a forty-pennyland in the sixteenth century.[36]

In Caithness a different system prevailed. ' Here pennylands were grouped in units of eighteen rather than twenty. In 1469 King James III confirmed to William Scarlet the 24 pennylands of 'Westirclith' (Clyth, Latheron) and eighteen pennylands of 'Westirgreneland' in Caithness.[37] In 1538, King James V granted to William, Earl of Marischal and Margaret Keith, his wife, various lands in Caithness including half of the four and a half pennylands of 'Forsyfur' and half of the 31½ pennylands in Skiall.[38] In 1581 King James IV confirmed a charter of Robert, Bishop of Caithness, to Alexander Sutherland of various lands including thirteen and a half pennylands of Brims in Caithness.[39]

These documents clearly reveal that Caithness pennylands were grouped in eighteens. They also illustrate that half of the eighteen pennyland, that is nine pennylands, and a quarter of the eighteen pennyland, in other words four and a half pennylands,

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33. Ibid., i, no. 486; CDS, ii, no. 1608; RMS, i, App. 2, Index A, Mss 7, p. 533, no. 348; ibid., i, App. p. 459, no. 64; ibid., i, App. p. 478, no. 102; ibid., vi, no. 345.
34. Ibid., iv, no. 2182; CDS, ii, no. 1608.
35. Forty Penny Hill is located at NS 690.008.
36. RMS, v, no. 427. Glenmuir is situated at NS 624.207.
37. Ibid., ii, no. 942.
38. Ibid., iii, no. 1798.
39. Ibid., v, no. 277.

were also prominent units in the same way as the half and the quarter of the twenty-pennyland unit of the western seaboard and western isles and the south-west.

It would appear that the Caithness pennyland system of assessment was akin to the Orkney system, where pennylands were also grouped in eighteens. In 1565, Gilbert Balfour received a royal confirmation of a grant by Adam, Bishop of Orkney and Shetland of various lands in the sheriffdom of Orkney, namely:

> the lands of 'Kirkebister-bewest' extending to three pennylands, 'Mydbe-bewest' at 27 pennylands, 'Bakka' at nine pennylands, 'Forbo-bewest' at three pennylands, 'Garth' at three pennylands, 'Clett' at three pennylands, 'South Burgh' at nine pennylands, 'Wa' at 36 pennylands, lie 'Bow de Notland' and lie 'Dykesyde' at eighteen pennylands and 'Mabak' in Papa-Westra at four and a half pennylands.[40]

This clearly reflects a system based on eighteen. The fact that an identical model of pennyland groupings was found in Caithness and Orkney is presumably a reflection of the close links between the two areas during the Viking period.[41]

It has been suggested that there are indications of a system based on groupings of eighteen pennylands in North Uist.[42] Certainly Unganab was recorded as 24 pennylands in 1561 and 1576.[43] However, in 1644 it was recorded as twelve pennylands and the inconsistency may reflect a scribal error on one or both occasions.[44] Oronsay comprised six pennylands which again may suggest groupings of eighteen but it was granted along with various other denominations of pennylands which collectively

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40. Ibid., iv, no. 1668.
41. The origin of the pennyland in Caithness and the Northern Isles is discussed below. See pp. 122-30.
42. Thomas, 'Ancient Valuation of Land', 210.
43. Coll. de Rebus Alban., 2; ibid., no. 9.
44. OPS, ii, pt. i, 374.

totalled fifteen, three-quarters of a twenty grouping.[45]

In 1679 the following lands in North Uist were wadset to Sir Norman MacLeod of Bernera and his spouse, Katherine:

> the two pennylands of 'Balevickuish', the five pennyland of Balevicfaill (Baile Mhic Phail), the one pennyland of Garrivachy, the one pennyland of Bailevic Conen (Baile Mhic Conan), the one pennyland of Pennyvanich, the one pennyland of Goulaby, the four pennyland of Clachan Sand, the three pennyland of Reumisgarry, the one pennyland of Vallaquie and one pennyland in Rowback.[46]

It is significant that these lands totalled twenty pennylands and even more significant is the mention of the five-pennyland unit (Baile Mhic Phail).[47] Thus it does appear that substantial evidence in support of an eighteen-pennyland grouping in North Uist is lacking whilst there are various documents which indicate that, as in the rest of the western highlands and islands, a twenty-pennyland system was in operation. It would have been very odd if North Uist had been aligned with Caithness and the Northern Isles rather than with the western isles and western seaboard.

During the medieval period the pennyland was used as an agricultural unit. It was a measure of arable rather than pasture land. Indicative of the arable nature of the pennyland is the fact that it was frequently accompanied in grants by meadows, pastures, plain and wood which were obviously extraneous to the actual pennyland.[48] Nor did the pennyland

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45. RMS, ii, no. 2873; OPS, ii, pt. i, 374.
46. SRO GD 221, bundle 105, no. 19. 'Balevickuish' later became Kyles Bernera.
47. It has been argued that there were no units of five pennylands in North Uist although evidently this was not so. Thomas, 'Ancient Valuation of Land', 210.
48. RMS, ii, 3136.

assessment include the territory of the shieling which was also granted over and above the pennyland itself. In 1619 Kenneth MacQueen, in gaining a tack of Oronsay (North Uist) was also given:

> 'all and hail the two pennylands of the three pennylands of Rouback together with the two parts [i.e. $\frac{2}{3}$] of the grazings and sheallings belonging and appertaining to the said three pennylands.' [49]

The association of the pennyland with the mill also implies an arable unit. Pennylands could either be granted with rights to a mill, as were the fourteen pennylands in Lismore granted to the church of Argyll in the thirteenth century, or with their own mill.[50] The arable nature of the pennyland obviously persisted as 300 years later Archibald, Earl of Argyll, and his brother, Sir John Campbell of Buchan granted to Colin Campbell of Barbreck and Colin Campbell of Craignish a total of 25 pennylands and the mill of 'Kintraynather' in the parish of Craignish.[51] The place-name Pennyland Mill (Kintyre) also links the pennyland with the mill.

A study of the distribution maps of the pennyland based on documentary and place-name evidence indicates that pennylands were situated in lower-lying areas below the 800 feet level.[52] In the main they are confined to the most fertile parts of those areas where they are found. In North Uist all pennylands recorded, except one pennyland of Gerrymare, lie

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49. SRO GD 221, bundle 106, no. 31. Rouback survives today as Machair Robach at the head of the Vallaquie Strand opposite Oronsay. The third pennyland of Rouback was one of the twenty pennylands wadset to Sir Norman MacLeod of Bernera in 1679. SRO GD 221, bundle 105, no. 19.
50. SRO RH1/2/49; RMS, v, no. 2287.
51. OPS, ii, pt. i, 99.
52. See appendices iv and v.

within the machair fringe - the low-lying and fertile coastal plain.[53] The fertile nature of the pennyland is implicit in place-names such as Pinmacher (Girvan), peighinn machair, 'penny of the plain'. However, it would appear that occasionally the pennyland could represent a measure of pasture land. This is suggested by the place-name Pennyfuir (Kilmore and Kilbride) peighinn a' phùir, 'penny of the pasture' which may be compared with the place-name Dochfour (Inverness and Bona), dabhach phùir, 'davach of pasture'. The davach, like the pennyland, was primarily a measure of arable land.[54] The place-name 'Garwpennynge', garbh pheighinn, 'rough penny', provides a further instance of the pennyland being used to assess less fertile land. Again this may be compared with a davach place-name, Dochgarroch (Inverness and Bona) which appears to contain the same element garbh and hence 'davach of rough land'. These pennylands and davachs may have been units of arable land so named because their soil compared unfavourably with that of neighbouring pennylands or davachs. In the case of 'Garwpennynge' it is impossible to determine because it has not been possible to identify its location. Certainly Dochgarroch (on the shores of Loch Ness) was well enough situated and was perhaps so called because its land may have been of a rougher nature than its neighbouring davach, Dochnalurig (Inverness and Bona).

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53. RMS, ii, no. 2873. Gerrymare is situated in an inhospitable tract of territory between Sollas and Sand. It has proved impossible to identify the sites of all North Uist pennylands but the procedure of the documents to list the lands in geographical order makes it possible to give a rough location. The pennyland of 'Garnivuchy', a mis-spelling of the Gaelic gearraidh Mhurchaidh, 'Murdoch's land', is marked by Blaeu, out of position, as Keanvarochy, 'Murdoch's head'. Whatever its origins, the placement of 'Garnivuchy' in the 1679 wadset reveals that it lay between Baile Mhic Phail and Baile Mhic Conan. SRO GD 221, bundle 105, no. 19.
54. For arable nature of the davach see above pp. 63-66.

The fact that pennylands were frequently named indicates that they were recognisable, compact pieces of land with fixed bounds as opposed to dispersed units. They were frequently granted 'per omnes rectas metas suas et divisas' although there is no surviving record of the bounds of a pennyland being perambulated and defined.[55]

The size of the pennyland is difficult to define. In this respect the documents are not very enlightening. Nowhere do they record the acreage of the pennyland. A common grant of land was the half-pennyland (leth-pheighinn (G), dimidia/obulata denariata (L)) and the quarter-pennyland (fàirdean/feòirling (G), quadrata denariata (L)) and three-quarter pennyland also occur reasonably often. These fractions are found as early as the thirteenth century and were clearly important units in their own right as they were often named. In 1240 King Alexander II granted to Gillascop MacGilchrist five pennylands of 'Fyncharne' except the half-pennyland which Eugenius, his brother, held which was called 'Crag Enywyr.' [56] In 1398 the farthingland called 'Feorlynmore' was granted by Colin Campbell, lord of Lochaw to Arthur Campbell, lord of Menstrie.[57] The fact that grants of quarter-pennylands were common implies that the pennyland itself was a unit of more than one or two acres. A unit of four acres has been suggested but there is no evidence to support this figure.[58] A farthingland was an ordinary holding in Lewis at the end of the eighteenth century and it required about five barrels (two and a half bolls) of seed corn.[59] The quantity of seed needed to sow

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55. Pais. Reg., 429; RMS, i, App. p. 458, no. 63; ibid., App. p. 463, no. 65.
56. Highland Papers, ii, 121, no. 1.
57. Ibid., iv, 18.
58. Dodgshon, Land and Society, 78.
59. Thomas, 'Ancient Valuation of Land', 211.

approximately one acre was one boll, indicating that the eighteenth-century farthingland was about two and a half acres, in which case the pennyland would be in the region of ten acres.[60] A pennyland of ten acres is in accordance with the estimated size of the davach/bunceland and their relationship to each other. A study of the Orkney pennyland concluded that it did not 'indicate any fixed extent of ground' although it did appear that 'pennylands in the same toun were of equal extent'.[61]

Clearly there were variations in size as is indicated in sources which refer to big pennylands, for instance

> 'unam mangnam [sic] denariatam' of 'Monenyernich', one big pennyland of 'Burg', one big pennyland of 'Conyche', one big pennyland of 'Corre', one big pennyland of 'Aryhawry'.[62]

Evidence of differences in size can also be found in place-names such as 'Peinmore', peighinn-more, 'big penny' and Pennybeg, 'peighinn-beg, 'little penny' in Skye. Subdivisions of the pennyland could also vary in size as is indicated by the place-name 'Feorlynmore' feòrlinn more, 'big quarter-penny'. Presumably such variations may be attributed to various factors including soil quality and natural boundaries although in order that the pennyland should function as a land measure there must have been an accepted norm, probably approximately ten acres. Had this not been the case pennylands would not have been labelled big or small.

Pennylands were also of different values. By a contract of marriage between Donald MacDonald of Moidart and Mary MacLeod,

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60. Symon, Scottish Farming, 30.
61. A. Peterkin, Notes on Orkney and Zetland (Edinburgh 1822), i, 6.
62. Highland Papers, ii, no. 6; RMS, ii, no. 2264; ibid., no. 3284.

niece of John MacLeod of Dunvegan (1666) Donald undertook to infeft Mary in the following lands in liferent:

> 'three pennylands of 'Knisbay', three pennylands of 'Kilbryd' and 'Silvidat', two pennylands of 'Begistill', sixteen pennylands of Kilphedir, four pennylands of 'Asbirness', ten pennylands of 'Firbost' and ten pennylands of 'Gallavalles' in the barony of South Uist'.

If she was disappointed Donald promised her in lieu of these 48 pennylands four pennylands in 'Arnicla' and ten and a half pennylands of 'Borrienie', a total of fourteen and a half pennylands, 'which lands are of equal value to the others'.[63] This evidence is rather late and undoubtedly changing circumstances would influence the size and value of the pennyland resulting in a departure from the original extent of land implied by that name. However, variations in the annual value of the pennyland are found as early as 1260 in an extent of the earldom of Carrick. The lands specified in this extent all lie in the district of Carrick where the annual value of the pennyland ranged from one and three-quarter merks to five merks.[64] This is further evidence for the pennyland being a fixed unit of land.

Pennylands were granted in return for a variety of renders - money, knight service, a token payment or simply for prayers. During the fourteenth century money was a common form of render. The amount due from a pennyland was not uniform and ranged from one silver penny to two pounds.[65] This variation cannot be

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63. Dunvegan Book, 51, no. 9.
64. I.A. Milne, 'An Extent of Carrick in 1260', SHR, 34-35 (1955-56), 47-9.
65. RMS, i, App. 2, Index B, Mss 5, no. 108; ibid., i, App. no. 64.

explained in chronological terms and was presumably dependent upon the benevolence of the grantor and the current economic value of the pennyland. During the reign of Robert I the pennyland called Drummozier, in Carrick, was held by Nicholas of Knockdolean for an annual rent of one silver penny.[66] This provides a confirmation of what the pennyland was - land which paid a penny as tribute. Variations in money renders of pennylands during the fourteenth century may indicate that these units had long since lost their original value. There is no evidence of pennylands being granted in return for a money payment before 1300 although this need not necessarily imply that it did not happen as the majority of surviving documentary material pre-1300 relates to church lands which were normally granted in return for prayers. In 1244 King Alexander II confirmed a gift by John of Carrick to the bishop of Glasgow of one pennyland called Auchincloich which he had made to the bishop on account of all injuries perpetrated by him and his men in the war in Galloway against all churches in the Glasgow diocese. The pennyland was to be held in pure and perpetual alms.[67] Circa 1170, Baldwin, sheriff of Lanark, granted to Paisley Abbey the church of Inverkip and the pennyland between the two burns where the church was built to be held in free and perpetual alms.[68] Paisley Abbey also received the church of St Colmanelo (Kilcalmonell) in Kintyre with one pennyland pertaining to be held in pure and perpetual alms.[69] Churches were often endowed with one pennyland.[70]

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66. Ibid., i, App. 2, Index B, Mss 5, no. 108.
67. Glas. Reg., i, no. 187.
68. Pais. Reg., 112.
69. Ibid., 121.
70. Ibid., 112, 121, 132; Glas. Reg., i, no. 187.

Another render due from the pennyland was feudal military service. As with money payments there was no standard amount of feudal service demanded from a pennyland. Most common was the less expensive feudal military service of archers and footsoldiers, particularly from pennylands in the south-west during the reign of Robert the Bruce. There was a certain degree of conformity in the sense that the normal ratio appears to have been one footsoldier or archer from one pennyland although there were exceptions. On one occasion, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, as many as eleven pennylands provided only one archer.[71] In no instance was an archer or footsoldier demanded from anything less than one pennyland. Clearly the pennyland was considered a substantial enough unit to provide one man in the less expensive ranks of the feudal military system.

It was rare to find pennylands paying rents in the much more expensive knight service and in those instances where it does occur it was only a fraction of a knight which was required and always from a substantial number of pennylands. In the thirteenth century the service of half a knight was due from 51 pennylands in Argyll whilst 50 pennylands in the district of Benderloch had to provide a quarter part of the service of one knight.[72] Again it would appear that there was no recognised quota of knight service due.

Pennylands were not always granted in return for knight service or money. Many were well enough favoured to hold their

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71. SRO RH 1/2/93. The eleven pennylands lay in the barony of Bute.
72. Highland Papers, ii, no. 1; ibid., iv, 193-96.

lands in 'blench-ferme', alba firma, that is, simply for a token payment which usually took the form of a pair of spurs or a pair of gloves. Tenure in blench-ferme was usually reserved for grants of a number of pennylands. In 1338, John of Argyll, lord of Lorn, granted to Mary, his father's sister, ten and a half pennylands in Lorn in return for one pair of spurs.[73] It was rare to find grants of less than five pennylands being held in blench-ferme, presumably because the relationship of the grantee to the grantor was less favourable. However, circa 1370, John Kennedy of Dunure received two pennylands in Kirkmichael-Munterduffy from Malcolm, son of Roland of Carrick, in return for his counsel and assistance, for no more than one pair of silver spurs, if he should be asked.[74]

Over and above these renders other dues were also levied on the pennyland. Perhaps of greatest importance was army service, that is forinsec or Scottish service, as opposed to the more recent feudal military service.[75] Regardless of whether pennylands paid a render in money, knight service or the less cumbersome blench-ferme they were also, almost without exception, liable for the burden of service in the common army of Scotland. During the reign of Robert I as noted Nicholas of Knockdolean held one pennyland in Carrick in return for one silver penny and was also liable for common army service which pertained to one pennyland.[76]

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73. Fraser, Kair, 198, no. 2.
74. SRO GD 25/1/8.
75. This was the same as the forinsec or Scottish service which was assessed on the basis on the davach in north-east Scotland. For further discussion of the nature of this service see above pp. 81-88.
76. RMS, i, App. 2, Index B, Mss 3, no. 108.

Although Gillascop MacGilchrist was responsible for providing half a knight's service from the 51 pennylands he held in Glassary he was also obliged to make Scottish service 'as the barons and knights on the north side of the sea of Scotland do for their lands'.[77] This reddendo clause forms a striking instance of the combination of the new feudal tenure with that which prevailed in the old Celtic kingdom. Grants of pennylands were occasionally exempt from the obligation of military service, particularly grants made to religious houses. The fourteen pennylands in Lismore granted to Iona by Ewen, son of Duncan of Argyll, in the mid-thirteenth century were to be held free from '_feact_ and _sloqad_'.[78]

As with the davach, the amount of military service due from each pennyland is nowhere specified although clearly there must have been a recognized amount of service due or the documents would have had to record otherwise on each occasion. One interesting thirteenth-century document records that the two pennylands of Kaimes and Achadachoun (Kilfinan) shall be responsible for providing two men with their food for the hosting of Argyll as is customary.[79] This would suggest that one pennyland was normally responsible for providing one man. At least it may be said that this was the normal provision in Argyll. Certainly it would appear that the pennyland was capable of providing one man as it has already been noted that a common feudal render from one pennyland was one archer or footsoldier.[80] It is impossible to reach any conclusions as to the amount of common army service

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77. _Highland Papers_, ii, 121, no. 1. The sea of Scotland refers to the Forth. This is believed to be the oldest feudal charter in existence dealing with Argyll.
78. SRO RH 1/2/49. _Feachd_ (G) and _slóqad_ (G) were the Gaelic equivalents of forinsec or Scottish service.
79. Inventory of Lamont Papers, p. 7, no. 10; from a lithograph among the papers of T. Thomson in SRO.
80. See above, p. 116.

rendered by pennylands in Caithness, if any, as the documents yield no information concerning this matter. Presumably the levy in the south-west was the same as in Argyll. Certainly forinsec service was levied in this area and it was in the south-west that the pennyland was most often required to supply an archer or a footsoldier. Fractions of pennylands were also required to provide service in the common army, perhaps by combining to support and equip a man or by taking turns to send someone.

In the western seaboard and western isles military service did not necessarily mean fighting on the land. Pennylands could be granted in return for service by land or by sea. Service by sea was sometimes described more specifically than service by land in terms of war-galleys and numbers of oars. King Robert I confirmed to Gillespic, son of Walter, a total of twenty pennylands in return for the service of one ship of 26 oars.[81] Although this does not exactly conform to the theory that one pennyland provided one man for service in the common army it is reasonably close and does not present any alternative. Presumably, in this instance, the majority of the twenty pennylands supplied one man whilst some may have sent two men or they may have joined forces to send the extra six men. This figure may have been partly governed by the type of vessel available in the area at that time and the number of men required to furnish it. A render of one ship of sixteen oars was due to the king from seventeen pennylands of

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81. RMS, i, App. no. 107. This document furnishes further proof of the importance of the twenty-pennyland unit which was obviously called upon to supply and equip a war vessel. The service demanded from Gillespic, son of Walter, is very close to that which was levied from every twenty-house unit in seventh-century Dalriada. See above pp. 30-31.

Lochawe in the mid-fifteenth century.[82] This is closer to the ratio of one man: one pennyland.

However in an early-sixteenth century grant 38 pennylands in Morvern were required to supply one ship of 22 oars.[83] In this instance the ratio is closer to one man from two pennylands. It is most likely that the 38 pennylands represented what was originally two groups of twenty pennylands in which case each twenty-pennyland unit probably alternated in fulfilling the military obligations. This grant may simply represent a favourable relationship between a certain Morvern landowner and the crown which led to a reduced amount of military service being demanded and it seems most likely that one oarsman from one pennyland was the norm. This is in perfect accordance with the provision of two men from two pennylands in Argyll for land service cited above.[84] A similar levy from land and sea is most likely especially as the ship service documents are also dealing with Argyll. Furthermore, in many sources forinsec service is described as 'used and wont', implying that there was a standard, recognisable amount of service due from a pennyland.[85]

As well as military service, other forms of taxation were also assessed on the basis of the pennyland although the evidence for these is slight. It is clear that the ancient Gaelic dues of cain - a payment in kind - and conveth - a service of hospitality - were levied on the pennyland but the only surviving documentary evidence for this takes the form of an exemption so there is no record of exactly what was paid.[86]

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82. Highland Papers, iv, 198-200.
83. RMS, ii, no. 3284.
84. See above p. 118.
85. Wigt. Chrs., App. p. 159, no. 130.
86. For an explanation of these terms see above pp. 90-93. The fourteen pennylands in Lismore granted to Iona in the mid-thirteenth century were to be held free from cain and conveth. SRO RH 1/2/49.

Aid was also levied on the basis of the pennyland unit although again the evidence is very limited.[87] Alexander II's grant to Gillascop MacGilchrist of 51 pennylands in Argyll was to be held for feudal military service and common army service and the aid which pertained to the 51 pennylands.[88] Evidently the pennyland fulfilled a role similar to that of the davach in the sense that both served as units for the assessment of common army service, aid, cain and conveth - all extremely important levies in the society of early medieval Scotland.

Documentary sources reveal that the pennyland was in use as a unit of land both in an agricultural and a fiscal sense from the second half of the twelfth century at least and the documents imply that it was already a well-established system by this time. Certainly, as soon as there is any documentary evidence, pennylands feature in royal and non-royal, ecclesiastical and lay documents suggesting that, at this time, they were recognised and accepted by all ranks of society, those ranks which mattered, that is, to the process of landholding and land-granting. The likeliest explanation for the absence of references to pennylands before the mid-twelfth century is simply a lack of documentation particularly in the west highlands and islands and it is perfectly possible that the pennyland was a unit of some antiquity. The question of the origins of the pennyland has provoked considerable controversy amongst historians. There are two main schools of thought, both of which may be traced back approximately a hundred

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87. For an explanation of aid see above pp. 88-90.
88. Highland Papers, ii, 121, no. 1.

years, one which favours a Norse origin for the pennyland and the other which claims that it may have been linked to the house system of the Scots of Dalriada.[89]

Certainly the geographical distribution of the pennyland is suggestive of Scandinavian influence. The pennyland is found in those parts of Scotland which came under the sphere of Norse influence from the early-ninth century. Norse settlement began in the northern isles circa 800.[90] It was probably via the northern isles that the Scandinavians expanded into Caithness during the ninth and tenth centuries.[91] The Scandinavians also settled in the western seaboard and western isles from the first half of the ninth-century.[92] However, pennylands are also found in the south-west an area which was free from Norse control. As already noted, during the tenth century Galloway was infiltrated by Gaelic-speaking settlers.[93] It was they who created the majority of the Gaelic place-names in Galloway.[94] It is quite conceivable that these

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89. Thomas, 'Ancient Valuation of Land', 209; Skene, Celtic Scotland, iii, 226.
90. Nicolaisen, Scottish Place Names, 86.
91. B. Crawford, 'The Earldom of Caithness and the Kingdom of Scotland 1150-1266', Northern Studies, 2 (1976-7), 97.
92. For a discussion of the Scandinavian place-names in these areas see Nicolaisen, Scottish Place Names, 84-96.
93. See above p. 99.
94. J. MacQueen, 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', Scot. Stud., 17 (1973), pt. i, 27.

incomers brought with them to the south-west the pennyland unit as well as the davach and the presence of these units in the south-west suggests that the Gaelic speaking people who came to the south-west must have come from the west highlands and islands.[95] Furthermore, the absence of the pennyland in other areas colonised by the Scandinavians such as the Isle of Man, Ireland, Iceland and, perhaps more significantly, from Scandinavia itself does cast doubt on the theory that the origins of the pennyland system lie with the Norse.

Attempts to explain the groupings of pennylands into twenties in the west highlands and islands have been based on the theory that the pennyland was of Scandinavian origin. It has been argued that the Norse, since they had no currency of their own when they first came to Scotland, used the English silver penny and the English ounce which have been claimed to be 22.5 grains and 450 grains of silver respectively.[96] If correct the 450 grain ounce would produce twenty pennies, each of 22.5 grains. The

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95. See above pp. 97, 99-100 for origin of the davach in the south-west.
96. McKerral, 'Lesser Land and Administrative Divisions', 56.

eighteen pennyland system of the northern isles and Caithness has also been explained in terms of weights of pennies and ounces. Although the Norse had no currency they did have their own ounce which equalled 412.58 grains of silver, an approximate, though not exact, equivalent of eighteen English pennies. It has been claimed that in the northern isles and Caithness, for some obscure reason hitherto not explained, the Norse used their own ounce, hence the grouping of pennylands into eighteens rather than twenties. However, it has recently been suggested that attempts to explain the groupings of pennylands in terms of weights of pennies and ounces 'rest on assumptions about metrological stability that are anachronistic'.[97] Alternatively, the eighteen pennyland system may reflect a duodecimal system which may have been related to the later monetary system or to the calendar.[98]

It is equally possible to put forward an alternative explanation for the grouping of pennylands into twenties in the west highlands and isles. This figure has echoes earlier in the

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97. P.H. Sawyer, 'Harald Fairhair and the British Isles', in Les Vikings et leur civilisation: problèmes actuels, ed. R. Boyer (1976), 108.

98. Ibid., 108. Orkney and Shetland had their own currency which was in use until the seventeenth century. The basis of this currency was 'twelve Shetland shillings in every mark in Shetland weight'. There were twelve pennies in the Shetland shilling and 144 Shetland pennies in one mark. The ounce was equal to $\frac{1}{8}$ of the mark. Therefore, there were eighteen Shetland pennies in an ounce. H. Marwick, 'Leidang in the West', Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society, 13 (Kirkwall, 1935), 21.

twenty house unit of Dalriada recorded in the Senchus Fer nAlban.[99] The importance of the twenty house unit in the system of assessment in seventh-century Dalriada cannot be denied. At least three leaders of the Cenél Loairn sept held twenty houses and the rest held groups of five, ten or fifteen, in other words, one-quarter, one-half and three-quarters of twenty.[100] The subdivision of the house units into groups of five, ten and fifteen is paralleled in the groupings of pennylands into five-, ten- and fifteen-pennyland units which, as has been shown above, were very common. This may also be compared with the common subdivisions of the davach namely the quarter-davach and the half-davach particularly as there were twenty pennylands in one davach.[101]

Further evidence of the similarity between the system of assessment in the west highlands and islands in the pre- and post-Scandinavian periods is found in the method of levying ship service. In seventh-century Dalriada every twenty houses were required to provide 28 oarsmen.[102] This is very close to the service of one ship of 26 oars which was demanded from the twenty pennylands confirmed to Gillespic, son of Walter by King Robert I and it may also be compared with the order of Lachlan MacRuari, in 1304, that each davach of land should furnish a galley of twenty oars.[103] The fact that the twenty-pennyland unit or the davach was responsible for furnishing the war-galleys of the west highland chiefs during the medieval period in the

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99. For detailed discussion of the house unit of seventh-century Dalriada see chapter two.
100. Bannerman, Dalriada, 133.
101. For the relationship of house unit and davach see above p. 98. and for the relationship of davach and pennyland see below pp. 133-34.
102. Bannerman, Dalriada, 153-4.
103. RMS, i, App. no. 107; CDS, ii, no. 1633.

same way as the twenty-house unit had been in the seventh century is sound evidence that there was a considerable measure of continuity in the system of land assessment in the western seaboard and the isles from the dark ages through to the medieval period. It seems clear that the grouping of pennylands into twenties was not the result of Scandinavian influence. It was not based on the number of pennies in an ounce of silver but on a much earlier system of land assessment.

It is possible to draw one further parallel between the house unit and the pennyland. Although, as has been discussed above, the house unit generally disappears from most of the areas once colonised by the Scots it is present in the Lordship of the Isles in the thirteenth century when Paisley Abbey received a grant from Ranald, son of Somerled, of a silver penny from every house from which smoke comes.[104] Indeed, in this instance, the penny and the house are directly equated. Thus it would appear that the pennyland system of land assessment in the west highlands and islands was based upon the house system of seventh-century Dalriada and that it represented no more than a change in nomenclature. This accounts for the almost total disappearance of the house by the early medieval period. It also explains why, with the exception of Islay, the pennyland was found in heaviest concentration in what was once the kingdom of Dalriada.

Presumably it became customary at some point to levy a tax at the rate of one penny from each house and through time the territory of the house would become known as the pennyland. Although the foundations of the pennyland system of assessment

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104. Pais. Reg., 126-7.

were not Scandinavian it is possible that it was they who were responsible for the imposition of the levy of a penny. The absence of the pennyland from Pictland suggests that it had not yet replaced the house unit when the Scots infiltrated Pictland in the mid-ninth century whilst its presence in Galloway implies that it was in existence in the west highlands and islands before Gaelic speakers from that area settled there in the tenth century.[105]

At the time of the Norse incursions there was no coinage used in Scotland nor Scandinavia.[106] It has been argued that the Norse, gaining familiarity with coins which they acquired in their raids on England and the continent, introduced the penny to Scotland.[107] In England there had been a currency of silver pennies from the end of the seventh century when silver replaced gold as the precious metal generally used in Europe north of the Alps.[108] The earliest silver coins found in Scotland were from the western isles and are Saxon coins minted in England.[109] Thus the Scandinavians may well have brought the first coins to Scotland but this need not imply

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105. There are traces of the house unit in Pictland. See above pp. 39-42. For a discussion of the Gaelic speakers in the south-west see above p. 97.
106. R.H.M. Dolley, The Hiberno-Norse Coins in the British Museum (Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, London 1966), 25. In Scotland no coins were minted before the reign of David I. McKerral, 'Ancient Denominations of Land', 41.
107. MacQueen, 'Pennyland and Davoch', 72.
108. The first silver pennies, so called in the laws of King Ine of Wessex (688-725) are now termed sceats or sceattas and the name penny is reserved for slightly later pieces. The first pennies (in the modern student's sense of the word) were struck in Canterbury (Kent) towards the end of the third quarter of the eighth century. Soon afterwards the Canterbury mint passed into the control of King Offa of Mercia (757-796) who struck a considerable quantity of pennies. By the end of the third decade of the ninth century silver pennies were being struck in England on a considerable scale. M. Dolley, Anglo-Saxon Pennies (London 1970), 9, 14, 17.
109. McKerral, 'Ancient Denominations of Land', 59.

that it was they who first levied a penny from each house as the tax was not necessarily rendered in terms of coinage. The concept of a pennyweight (of metal) was probably well established long before the penny coin became familiar and it would be misleading to envisage that each house in the west highlands and islands was handing over a penny coin as a tax in the ninth and tenth centuries although the pennyland was evidently in being during this period. It is more likely that the pennyweight was defined in fixed quantities of produce. Penny weights were familiar in coinless ninth-century Ireland although the Scandinavians did not begin to use coins in Ireland until the early tenth century, when the secondary Viking raids and settlements took place.[110] In Wales, although the burden of gwestfa as a definite assessment was regarded as equivalent to a pound (240d.), in the time of Hywel Dda designated the tunc-pound, the laws express the tunc-pound in terms of kind:

> six score pence the value of bread,
> three score pence the value of liquor
> and three score pence the value of enllyn.[111]

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110. D.Ó Corráin, Ireland Before the Normans (Dublin 1972), 107. According to the Dictionary of the Irish Language (RIA, 1913-76), pinginn, penginn 'a pennyweight, a weight (of metal)'. Later, of a money-value or coin.

111. A.W. Wade-Evans, Welsh Medieval Law, being a text of the Laws of Hywel (Howel) the Good namely the BM Harleian Ms 4353 of the thirteenth century (Oxford 1909), 206, v.26a 25. Gwestfa was the entertainment or maintenance allowance paid to the king by freemen holding free land. T.P. Ellis, Welsh Tribal Law and Custom in the Middle Ages (Oxford 1926), i, 284, thus the equivalent of conveth or waiting in Scotland. Enllyn - 'eatables other than bread'. Wade-Evans, Welsh Medieval Law, 206, v26a 25. Hywel Dda ruled during the first half of the tenth century and died circa 950. Edwards, 'Historical Study of Welsh Lawbooks', 143.

Since coins were rare in Wales before the late-tenth century presumably gwestfa was normally rendered in kind in the time of Hywel Dda.[112] It is perhaps significant that in the Welsh lawbooks pennies were grouped in twenties as in the south-west and the west highlands and islands of Scotland.

Thus it would appear that in both Ireland and Wales the concept of the pennyweight as a measure of value pre-dated the introduction of the penny coin and a similar situation may have prevailed in Scotland. Whether or not the Scandinavians imposed the penny tax in those parts of Scotland which they colonised remains uncertain. The penny tax may have been imposed directly by the Norse or it may have been levied by native landlords and, perhaps, handed over to the Norse as a form of tribute. Certainly, in Wales, in 989, according to Brut y Tywysogion (the Chronicle of the Princes), Maredudd ab Owain of Deheubarth, grandson of Hywel Dda, levied a penny from every person as tribute for payment to the Black Host or Vikings.[113] What is definite is that the pennyland came into being during the period of Norse influence in Scotland and that it was clearly based on a system of assessment which prevailed in the kingdom of Dalriada long before the Norse ever settled there. The close parallels between the house unit of Dalriada and the pennyland indicate that the origins of the pennyland lie in the west highlands and islands. From there presumably it was taken to the northern isles by the Scandinavians, where it was modified and adapted to suit local circumstances, and thence to Caithness and all that may

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112. W. Davies, Wales in the Early Middle Ages (Leicester 1982), 54-5; L. Alcock, 'Some Reflections on Early Welsh Society and Economy', Welsh History Review 2 (1964), 3.
113. G.R.J. Jones, 'Post-Roman Wales', The Agrarian History of England and Wales A.D. 43-1042, ed. H.P.R. Finberg (Cambridge 1972), 300.

be attributed with any level of accuracy to the Scandinavians with regard to the pennyland is its geographical distribution.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE OUNCELAND

In a land grant of the late-thirteenth century Earl John Magnusson gave to the elder Reginald Cheyne '*totam nostram oratam terrae*' at Nottingham in Caithness.[1] This is the earliest surviving documentary reference to the unit of land assessment known as the ounceland and it is the only example of the use of the word *ora* to describe this unit. The next documentary reference to the ounceland is found in 1343 when King David II granted to Reginald, son of Roderick of the Isles the eight '*unnctiatas* (*unciatas*) *terre*' of Garmoran and it is in this form, *unciata*, that the ounceland is normally recorded in Latin in the medieval period.[2] *Unciata terrae* was in fact a translation of the Gaelic *tírunga*, *tír* being the native Gaelic for land and *unga* being a borrowing from the Latin *uncia*, 'ounce' into Gaelic long before the two words were put together to describe a land unit but as medieval documents were normally written in Latin it was the Latin form *unciata terrae* that was used to represent the ounceland in record material. Presumably the term ounceland was used to describe a unit of land as it represented the amount of land which paid a tax in money or produce to the value of one ounce of silver. In this respect it may be compared with the use of the term pennyland which represented the amount of land which paid a tax to the value of one silver penny. The earliest known documentary reference to the ounceland in the form *tírunga* occurs in 1498 in a grant by

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1. SRO Dupplin Charters, bundle 5, no. 138, ii.
2. *RRS*, vi, no. 74.

King James IV to Torquil MacLeod of Lewis of four merks of the terung of Dùntulm in Skye.[3] The ounceland appears in various forms in the Scots vernacular during the sixteenth century such as terunga, teirunge and teirroung.[4] There may be an instance of a form of tírunga, although minus the tír, from much earlier. Circa 1263, Dubhgall MacSween's charter for Walter, earl of Menteith of the land of Skipness in Kintyre refers to 'duabus Ungyns MacCrunnel' - perhaps the two ouncelands of MacCrunnel.[5] Certainly there is evidence of the ounceland in Kintyre at a later date.[6] Perhaps also significant is the mention of the pennyland in MacSween's charter as the ounceland and pennyland appear to have fulfilled complementary roles in the system of land assessment in the west highlands and islands for much of the medieval period.[7]

Another term which was frequently used to describe a unit of land in the west highlands and islands was the davach. There is sufficient evidence to state that in a west-highland context the davach was the same unit as the ounceland and as such the terms were used interchangeably. In 1343 lands in Garmoran

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3. OPS, ii, pt. i, 351.
4. Ibid., ii, pt. i, 352, 364; Coll. de Rebus Alban., 2.
5. NLS Adv. Ms. 29.4.2. [Hutton's Collections], ii, 27. MacCrunnel could mean 'the sons of Crunnel' or possibly 'the son of Crunnel'. An alternative derivation is suggested by a papal confirmation of 1247 referring apparently to the same land as Macherummel in Kintyre, ES, ii, 545, n.4. In that case the first part would be machair, 'a plain'. Machrihanish (Kintyre) is Machair Shanais, 'plain of Sanas'. Watson, CPNS, 506.
6. RMS, ii, no. 3170.
7. NLS, Adv. Ms. 29.4.2, ii, 27. For the relationship of the ounceland and pennyland see below pp. 133-34.

were granted in terms of ouncelands whilst parts of Garmoran were described as davachs circa 1320.[8] Both davachs and ouncelands are found in South Uist and in Skye.[9] The point is best illustrated in a grant of King James IV to Ranald Alanson of 'Yland-Bagrim' in 1505 of various lands in Kilmuir parish (North Uist) namely:

> 'the davach called in Scotch (i.e. Gaelic) the terung of Yllera, the davach called in Scotch the terung of Pablisgerry, the davach called in Scotch the terung of Paible, the davach called the terung of Bailranald.' [10]

In the west highlands and islands the ounceland or davach comprised twenty pennylands.[11] This is clearly demonstrated by the surviving evidence. For example, Sunart comprised three ouncelands in the fourteenth century and in the eighteenth century was described as 60 pennylands.[12] Similarly, circa 1320 King Robert I granted to Roderick, son of Alan, the three davachs of Knoydart and in 1537 King James V granted to Donald Cameron, son of Ewan Alanson, the 60 pennylands of Knoydart.[13] Also, in Robert I's grant to Roderick, son of Alan, the half davach of Arisaig was described as five pennylands of 'Gedevall' and five pennylands of 'Glenbrescall' and 'Bethey'.[14] Perhaps most significant is Tormod MacLeod of Dunvegan's grant to his wife, Janet Campbell, in 1583 of:

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8. RRS, vi, no. 73; RMS, i, App. i, no. 9.
9. OPS, ii, pt. i, 366; RMS, ii, no. 2287; Dunvegan Bk., nos. 4, 7.
10. OPS, ii, pt. i, 374. Of course davach was also a Gaelic word although this document may suggest that by this time its linguistic origins were obscured.
11. It has been noted above, see pp. 104-07, that in this area pennylands were grouped in twenties and the frequent sub-divisions of five-penny and ten-pennyland units has also been discussed. See pp. 105-07.
12. RMS, i, no. 520; OPS, ii, pt. i, 199.
13. RMS, i, App. i, no. 9; ibid., iii, no. 1721. The examples of Sunart and Knoydart also provide further testimony to the reliability and value of later sources in their application to the earlier period.
14. RMS, i, App. i, no. 9.

> 'ten pennylands of 'Arnistill' called a half davach, ten pennylands of 'Aichaglyn' called a half davach, five pennylands of 'Lekewoir' and five pennylands of 'Meillarie' called a half davach, ten pennylands of 'Clamboyle' called a half davach, five pennylands of 'Achatydowling' and five pennylands of 'Achanahevill' called a half davach, ten pennylands of 'Alis' and 'Landaik' called a half davach, ten pennylands of the two 'corareis' called a half davach, five pennylands of 'Arycharnachan' and five pennylands of 'Achacharn' called a half davach, ten pennylands of 'Bowirblek' called a half davach, ten pennylands of 'Ballanray' called a half davach, and ten pennylands of 'Moilaclunry' and ten pennylands of 'Moillockivaig' called a davach'. [15]

In total he granted six davachs or 120 pennylands. The fact that both the davach and the ounceland comprised twenty pennylands is further evidence that they must be seen as synonymous.

The ounceland is present in the mainland districts of Kintyre, Sunart, Ardgour, Moidart, Morar and Knoydart and on the islands of Mull, Coll, Tiree, Skye, North Uist, South Uist and Barra. In some of these regions, i.e. in Moidart, Morar and Knoydart and the isles of North Uist, South Uist and Skye, the term davach was also in use. The davach is also found in some western districts where there is nó surviving record of the ounceland, namely the islands of Eigg, Rum and Lewis and the seaboard districts of Glenelg, Kintail, Loch Alsh, Gairloch, Loch Broom and Assynt.[16] Since the davach and the ounceland in the west highlands and islands represented one and the same land unit it may be stated that the system of land assessment in the western highlands and isles which was based on the ounceland/davach was found

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15. OPS, ii, pt. ii, App. p. 829. Presumably these were the same six davachs which Margaret, daughter of the late Sir James MacKenzie of Tarbat received in liferent from Ruari MacLeod of Dunvegan by a contract of marriage in 1655. Dunvegan Bk., no. 7.
16. See Appendix vi.

as far south as Kintyre and as far north as Assynt. Apart from a small area between Loch Alsh and Gairloch either the ounceland or the davach or both are found in all seaboard districts from Sunart to Assynt.

In the area between Sunart and Kintyre there is no evidence of either unit.[17] This is noteworthy as the distribution of the pennyland in this area was particularly dense.[18] The west-highland groupings of twenty-pennyland units and subdivisions of the twenty-pennyland unit are familiar throughout this area. Throughout Lorn the five-pennyland unit was common.[19] Also, grants of individual pennylands frequently added up to five, ten or twenty pennylands.[20] All of this would seem to indicate that the same system of assessment prevailed in the area between Sunart and Kintyre as over most of the west highlands and islands and the likeliest explanation for the absence of references to davachs or ouncelands between Sunart and Kintyre is simply a lack of surviving documentary material. It may be that in those areas, by the beginning of the period of documentary record, it was the smaller unit, the pennyland, which was the most meaningful and relevant unit to society, and, therefore, which featured more prominently in the documentary material which survives. It must be remembered that although the davach appeared to function as a land unit in the south-west evidence for its existence in this area is solely reliant upon place-name material. There is no conclusive evidence of either the davach or the ounceland being

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17. For further discussion of this see below p. 163.
18. The pennyland clearly was related to the ounceland/davach system of assessment and the distribution of pennylands outwith the west highlands and islands is, without exception, accompanied by the ounceland or davach or both. There are parts of the western seaboard where there are ouncelands or davachs but no pennylands. This may be the result of the incidence of documentary survival.
19. OPS, ii, pt. i, 130, 154.
20. Ibid., ii, pt. i, 155.

applied as a place-name between Sunart and Kintyre. There may be an instance in the place-name Gargawach (Lochaber).[21] However, the davach is not used as a place-name west of the Great Glen so its absence in this area is not significant. There appears to be only one definite example of an ounceland place-name in the whole of the west highlands and islands and that is Unganab - unq an aba, 'the abbot's ounceland' in North Uist.[22] In 1409, Donald, Lord of the Isles, granted to his nephew, Hector MacGilleon, lord of Duart, six merklands of 'Tyrvughafeal', in Coll.[23] This may be another instance of an ounceland place-name. Certainly the tírunqa was used to assess lands in Coll.[24] There is an area on Coll named Feall although there is no sign of the place-name Tirung-na-feall. However, there is no settlement site in Feall and it has possibly been overtaken by blown sand.[25]

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21. See above p. 49.
22. Unganab occurs in 1561, 1576 and 1610 along with the church lands of the south west. This fact, along with the existence of a Loch an Aba south of the Trinity Temple, led Beveridge to place Unganab at Carinish. [E. Beveridge, North Uist (Edinburgh 1911), 94]. However, the latter was always a two-pennyland [OPS, ii, pt. i, 374]. Unganab, a 24- pennyland in 1561 and 1576, and a twelve-pennyland in 1644, would seem too substantial a unit to have also occurred here [OPS, ii, pt. i, 374]. It has been assigned to the Kilmuir area. This is based on the mention of 'Hector MacKinnon of Vaninb' in a document of 1723; the only Hector MacKinnon in the 1718 rental lived at Hougharry [E. MacRuari, A Hebridean Parish (Inverness 1950), 12]. Unganab is also linked with Kilmuir in a sasine of 1677 whereby one of the witnesses in Unganab was Donald MacMillan, vicar of Kilmuir in Uist [SRO GD 221, bundle 106, no. 5]. Unganab might have been that part of the lands of Kilmuir closest to the church itself, near Hougharry.
23. RMS, ii, no. 2264 (reading Tyrunghafeal).
24. OPS, ii, pt. i, 333.
25. Feall is located at NM 128.544.

In the islands there is an almost exact agreement between the distribution of pennylands and that of ouncelands/davachs. The only exception is Arran where the pennyland is found but not the ounceland or davach, again probably due to a lack of surviving documentary material. The absence of the ounceland or davach from the Islay group of islands is probably a true representation of the situation rather than a reflection of the incidence of documentary survival. The absence of the pennyland from the Islay group of islands has already been noted and it does appear that the system of assessment based on the ounceland/ davach and the pennyland did not function in this area.[26] It may be that in Islay the house system was replaced by a different system.[27]

Whether there is any significance in the geographical distribution of the use of the terms ounceland or davach is difficult to determine. It has already been noted that in some districts both terms were in application whilst elsewhere it was either one or the other that was used.[28] It would appear that in the southernmost districts, including the neighbouring islands, the ounceland only was used, whereas in the northernmost districts, including the islands, it was only the davach which was in use. In the intervening districts, again including the islands, both terms are found.[29]

The chronological factor appears to bear no relevance to the distribution pattern as both terms were in use during

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26. See above p. 102.
27. See above pp. 12-14.
28. See above pp. 134-35.
29. See appendix vi.

the period of this study and it is not uncommon to find both terms recorded in the same document.[30] Their distribution may indicate that the ounceland was centred on the district of Sunart and Moidart and the neighbouring islands of Mull, Coll and Tiree. Perhaps it was to these parts that the term ounceland was first introduced and where it perhaps totally replaced the davach.[31] It may have spread gradually north from there being adopted alongside the davach until it failed to penetrate the northernmost parts of the mainland and the island of Lewis where the davach remained alone. However, all of this is mere speculation and perhaps a likelier possibility is that the terms davach and ounceland were both used in all of these areas, the distribution pattern reflecting no more than the fragmentary nature of surviving documentary material.

The ounceland was not confined to the west highlands and islands. It would appear that it was also in use in Caithness although the evidence for this is slight, being confined to two references.[32] However, there is no doubt that the pennyland is found in Caithness and there is evidence of the davach also, both of which were found along with the ounceland in the west highlands and islands. Caithness pennylands were grouped in eighteens rather than in twenties as in the west highlands and islands and the south-west. Just as the west-highland ounceland comprised twenty pennylands the Caithness ounceland was made up of eighteen pennylands.[33] However,

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30. RMS, i, no. 520; OPS, ii, pt. i, 374.
31. All the evidence suggests that the davach was in existence before the ounceland. See above pp. 94-100 for origins of the davach and below pp. 162-71 for origins of the ounceland.
32. SRO Dupplin Charters, bundle 5, no. 138, ii; SRO GD 96/63.
33. M. Bangor-Jones, 'Pennylands and Ouncelands in Sutherland and Caithness' (St John's House Publication, Univ. of St Andrews, forthcoming), 4. For Caithness pennylands see above pp. 107-8.

whereas the west-highland davach was the same unit as the ounceland and also had twenty pennylands, the evidence suggests that in Caithness there were six pennylands to the davach rather than eighteen. A charter of 1575 makes reference to a davach as six pennylands.[34] The half davach of Wester Garty (Loth) was sometimes referred to as the three pennylands of Wester Garty.[35] This seems to imply that in this area the ounceland was not the equivalent of the davach but rather that the ounceland equalled three davachs. Indeed in the late-thirteenth century the ounceland of Nottingham (Latheron) was granted to the elder Reginald Cheyne and in 1408 Mariota Cheyne granted to Kenneth of Sutherland, son of William, earl of Sutherland, her lands of the three davachs of Nottingham.[36]

It has been suggested that in Caithness the davach looks like a later and somewhat artificial development.[37] Certainly the evidence for the equation of six pennylands with one davach is late. However, it is possible that the davach was in use at an early date in Caithness although by the sixteenth century it may have become a much smaller unit. The absence of early references to Caithness davachs may again be explicable in terms of a lack of surviving evidence. It is quite clear that by the end of the thirteenth century, and probably much earlier, the davach was prominent in Sutherland, just south of Caithness.

Perhaps significant is the fact that Sutherland davachs were

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34. RMS, v, no. 112.
35. Bangor-Jones, 'Pennylands and Ouncelands', 5.
36. SRO Dupplin Charters, bundle 5, no. 138, ii; OPS, ii, pt. ii, 767.
37. Bangor-Jones, 'Pennylands and Ouncelands', 5. The evidence for the davach in Caithness is late in comparison with that for davachs elsewhere.

frequently grouped in threes or sixes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[38] This may bear some relation to the apparent equation of three davachs with one ounceland in Caithness. However, there is no evidence of either ouncelands or pennylands in Sutherland and so the davach groupings here are probably unrelated to the Caithness phenomenon. There is evidence of davachs grouped in threes and sixes elsewhere perhaps in relation to the thanage and this seems a likelier explanation of the prevalence of three- and six-davach units in Sutherland.[39]

The ounceland is also found in the northern isles of Orkney and Shetland where it is known by the term urisland or ersland derived from the Old Norse <u>øyris-land</u> (eyris-land), 'ounceland'.[40] It has been defined as land paying a tax to the value of one ounce.[41] The first evidence for the use of the term in Orkney is found in Hákonar Saga. On King Hakon's return after the battle of Largs in 1263 he was obliged to remain in Orkney over the winter and had to make arrangements for quartering his men:

> 'Hákon konungr lét þá skrá lendum mönnum ok sveitarhöfðingjum eyris-lönd til vista-töku, at halda þær sveitir sem við þeim vóru, ok srá af hverjum eyris-löndum'

('King Hakon had, therefore, a register made for his lendir-men and chieftains of the 'urislands' on which they might quarter their men - and that of every 'urisland'). Then, after attending their

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38. For example, Skibo-6 davachs, Ciderhall - 6 davachs [Fraser, <u>Sutherland</u>, iii, no. 7]; Proncy - 3 davachs (Upper Proncy, Lower Proncy, Proncecroey) Rovie - 6 davachs [ibid., iii, no. 19]; Garve - 3 davachs [<u>RMS</u>, i, no. 601].
39. For a discussion of the relationship of davach and thanage see above p. 72 and below pp. 151-53.
40. H. Marwick, <u>The Orkney Norn</u> (Oxford 1929), 202.
41. <u>Icelandic-English Dictionary</u>, edd. R. Cleasby, G. Vigfusson and W.A. Craigie (Oxford 1957), 136.

ships, each man went to his assigned quarters. Some lendirmen and other chiefs stayed in Kirkwall, but others were in the country districts on the 'urislands' to which they had been assigned.[42] It has been suggested that King Hakon was the first, in 1263, to divide Orkney into ouncelands but it seems clear that these units were already in existence and that Hakon used them as a basis of valuation in the quartering of his men.[43] The term is constantly recurring in the Orkney rentals from 1492 onwards and from these it has been reckoned that there were in the region of 200 ouncelands in Orkney.[44]

Reference has already been made to the existence of the pennyland in Orkney. As in Caithness, there were eighteen pennylands in an ounceland in Orkney. As late as the eighteenth century a report by Mr. George Low, minister of Harray and Birsay referred to 'every eyrsland of eighteen pennyland'.[45] The Orkney ounceland was also divided into four skatlands, each of four and a half pennylands, a curious figure which perhaps indicates that the skatland and pennyland may have had different origins.[46] The skatland is also found, and with more prominence, in Shetland where the ounceland and pennyland are much less frequent than in Orkney.[47] The skatland in Shetland fulfilled

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42. Marwick, The Orkney Norn, 202.
43. F.W.L. Thomas, 'What is a Pennyland? Or Ancient Valuation of Land in the Scottish Isles', PSAS, 18 (1883-4), 260; Marwick, The Orkney Norn, 202. For further discussion of the origin of the ounceland see below pp. 162-71.
44. A Steinnes, 'The Huseby System in Orkney', SHR, 38-9 (1959-60), 39.
45. Storer-Clouston, 'The Old Chapels of Orkney', 93.
46. Sawyer, 'Harald Fairhair and the British Isles', 109.
47. Originally the Shetland skatland represented the territory (both hill land and arable land) of a group of people who paid scat (Old Norse skattr). At a later date it referred to a unit of common grazing. B. Smith, 'What is a Scattald? Rural Communities in Shetland 1400-1900' in Essays in Shetland History, ed. B. Crawford (Lerwick 1984), 99-100.

the same ecclesiastical and fiscal functions as the Orkney ouncelands.[48] There are three references to skatland in Caithness but no references to it in the west highlands and islands.

In terms of the method of subdivision it is clear that the ounceland-pennyland (and possibly skatland) system of Caithness must be linked with the system in the northern isles rather than with the western seaboard and western isles where a somewhat different system prevailed. The occurrence of skatlands in the northern isles and Caithness is possibly due to the fact that these lands were under Norwegian sovereignty for two centuries after the cessation of the Western Isles by Norway in 1266 following the failure of King Hakon to reassert Norwegian authority. Thus the origin of the skatland should probably be sought in the thirteenth century.[49]

The ounceland is also found in the Isle of Man where the system of land assessment was based on a unit known as the treen. The earliest reference to the treen occurs in a charter of 1408.[50] The Manorial Rolls of Man of 1511-15 are based on the treen; the term treen is found in the Ballaugh Register of 1600 and it is common in documents from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.[51] However, the treen divisions, as units of land assessment, are probably much older. Even in the sixteenth century two-thirds of all treen names are still Norwegian and it has been argued that the treen dates back to the period of Norwegian domination (early-ninth to mid-thirteenth

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48. In Orkney the distribution of chapels was related to the ounceland (see above p. 75) whilst in Shetland it was related to the skatland. R.G. Cant, 'Settlement, Society and Church Organisation in the Northern Isles' in The Northern and Western Isles in the Viking World, edd. A. Fenton and H. Palsson (Edinburgh 1984), 174.
49. Sawyer, 'Harald Fairhair and the British Isles', 109. B. Smith suggests that scat-paying districts in Orkney and Shetland may have reached their relatively final form c.1200. Smith, 'What is a Scattald?', 105.
50. Marstrander, 'Treen og Keeill', 412.
51. Ibid., 412.

century). The word treen has been traced to an Old Norwegian þrihífíngr, 'consisting of three hífíngr', i.e. an estate large enough to support one family: hífíngr being a Norwegian rendering of the Anglo-Saxon synonym híd, hízid (hiwisc: Old Norse hỳski), the fundamental unit of the Anglo-Saxon system of tenement.[52] However, this definition runs contrary to the fact that the treen was actually divided into four quarterlands (kerroo in Manx) and not into thirds.[54] This may be compared with the characteristic subdivision of the ounceland or davach of the west highlands and islands into quarters (ceathramh in Gaelic, of which kerroo is the Manx equivalent), and perhaps also with the quadripartite division of the ounceland of the northern isles. Indeed it is now generally accepted that the treen of the Isle of Man and the tírunga of the west highlands and islands are the same philological term, the Scottish Gaelic tírunga originating from tír unga, the Manx treein (with a palatal n) from tír uinge with a palatal ng well known from Middle Irish manuscripts.[55]

Further support for this derivation may be found in a 1505 charter which refers to 'unciatam terrae Sancti Columbae'.[56]

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52. C.J.S. Marstrander, 'Det Norske Landnåm På Man', NTFS 6 (1932), 350.

54. Marstrander attempts to circumvent this problem by explaining that at the time of the Norwegian conquest the procedure involved in dividing the land in Man between the Norse settlers resulted in the grouping of Celtic farms in threes under the control of a Norwegian landlord whose own farm had to be made up out of the existing three farms. Hence the treen then consisted of four parts. See Marstrander, 'Det Norske Landnåm På Man', 351.

55. This definition was first put forward by H. Marwick in his 'Leidang in the West', POAS, 13 (1935), 26 and was adopted by Marstrander in preference to his earlier suggested definition (see above). Marstrander, Treen og Keeill', 424.

56. Monasticon Anglicanum, edd. J. Caley, Sir H. Ellis and Rev. Bulkeley Bandinel (London 1846), v, 256.

This is contained in a confirmation by Thomas, Lord Stanley to the Bishop of Sodor and may provide a unique instance in the Isle of Man of tírunga rendered in its Latin form. If this was so the bishops' property at Kirk Arbory Parish Church must have been much larger than in recent times. The phrase has been interpreted as meaning 'a twelfth of the land of St Columba', which would better suit the amount of land known to have belonged to the bishops there since the Reformation.[57] However, it has been suggested that in the thirteenth century the bishops of Man and the Isles owned the parish church of Arbory and a great deal of land surrounding it which had shrunk considerably by the beginning of the sixteenth century.[58] Even if it cannot definitely be asserted that the 1505 Manx instance of unciata terrae is equal to the Manx treen, it is clear that treen is the same word as tírunga and it seems to represent a similar assessment system.[59]

The use of the term ounce to describe units of land is also found in south-east Wales. In the Llandaff charters the size of farms is expressed in either unciae or modii.[60] There were twelve modii to the uncia and the commonest size of farm was three modii.[61] In other words, as in the northern isles, the western isles and western seaboard and the Isle of Man the importance of the quarter-division manifests itself. Whether this is indicative of any relationship between the Llandaff

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57. Kneen, Place-Names of the Isle of Man, 61.
58. Ibid.
59. For further parellels between the treen and tírunga see below p. 148.
60. The Llandaff charters present a detailed corpus of precise material, localised to south-east Wales and referring to much of the pre-Conquest period. They occur in a large episcopal collection, the Liber Landavensis, written mostly in twelfth-century hands. Much of the charter material is based on earlier manuscripts. W. Davies, An Early Welsh Microcosm (London 1978), 3-6, 33.
61. Ibid., 33-4.

uncia and the Orkney urisland, Hebridean tírunga and Manx treen is uncertain. It is interesting to note that the Welsh uncia was divided into twelve units, the Orkney urisland into eighteen units and the Hebridean tírunga into twenty units whilst in Man there is no evidence of a subdivision other than into quarters. The use of the term uncia was phased out at an early date in Wales. It was not used after circa 950.[62] It is found only in Gwent and Ergyng.[63] Modius occurs at all times and in all areas but before the eighth century it is found in Glywysing only.[64] It seems, therefore, that before the eighth century distinctive systems operated in east and west. Thereafter, modius gradually spread into the east until by circa 780 the uncia lapsed into disuetude.[65] Whether or not there is any relationship between the Welsh uncia and the ounceland of the northern isles, the western isles and western seaboard the major significance of the Welsh uncia is as an indicator of how early the notion of an ounce had been applied to a system of land measure. The ounce, as a value of silver, was evidently in general use in Ireland possibly before the Viking period - sometimes quite specifically as the amount imposed as an annual land-tax due to a king or overlord but there is no evidence of the term ounceland being applied to a unit of land in Ireland.[66]

It has already been clearly established that in the west

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62. Ibid., 57.
63. Ibid., 57.
64. Ibid., 57.
65. Ibid., 57. Since the terms have a different meaning the change is not purely terminological: it is the smaller unit that takes over.
66. B. Megaw, 'Norseman and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles', Scot. Stud., 20 (1976), 19.

highlands and islands the ounceland and davach were one and the same unit.[67] Both the davach and the ounceland, in its Latin form unciata terræ or Gaelic tírunga, were familiar in royal and non-royal documents throughout the medieval period functioning in an agricultural as well as a fiscal capacity. In an agricultural sense the documents are particularly unyielding and there is nothing of significance to be added to the interpretation of the davach based on earlier material and relating chiefly to the north-east of the country except to comment that the late evidence relating to the west reinforces the information gleaned from earlier sources dealing with the north-east. Ouncelands were named and had fixed bounds indicating that, as with the davachs of the north-east, they were compact, recognisable pieces of ground.[68] The davach in Lochbroom was described in the eighteenth century as an arable unit of 192 acres.[69] This figure accords well with the suggestion that the pennyland was a unit of approximately ten acres although obviously, as with the other land units, the size presumably varied in accordance with such factors as the quality of the soil.[70]

The arable nature of the ounceland is evidence from certain rentals of North Uist ouncelands. In 1576 the rent

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67. See above pp. 132-34.
68. For example, the half ounceland in Trotternish called Kilbaxter. Coll de Rebus Alban, 2. The four davachs of Assynt were granted 'per omnes rectas metas et divisas suas'. RRS, vi, no. 487.
69. Pennant, A Tour in Scotland, 314. For a discussion of the size and arable nature of north-eastern davachs see above pp. 53-60, 63-66.
70. See above pp. 112-13 for size of pennyland.

for Unganab, 'the abbot's ounceland', a 24 pennyland, was 48 males of bere.[71] A rent in bere could only be forthcoming from arable land. Worth noting is the fact that since a male was half a boll Unganab was assessed at the rate of a boll a pennyland. In the same document the kirklands of Sand were rentalled at twenty bolls of bere.[72] Sand is recorded as an ounceland in 1505 and in 1679 the twenty pennylands of Sand are recorded.[73] Thus Sand and Unganab were evidently assessed at the same rate - a boll a pennyland. Further evidence of the arable nature of the ounceland, in North Uist at least, is found in a tack of 1712 to Archibald MacLean which gave him the right to three days' threshing and harvest work from each of Lord MacDonald's tenants in his twenty pennyland of Sand.[74] A study of the geographical distribution of the ounceland also highlights the arable nature of the unit.[75] Ouncelands were confined to the lower-lying, more fertile regions of the western seaboard and western isles. For instance, in North Uist, where a considerable number of ouncelands are recorded, they are situated, without exception, in the flat and fertile plain - the machair lands.[76] As has already been illustrated

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71. Coll. de Rebus Alban., 9.
72. Ibid., 9.
73. RMS, ii, no. 2873. The twenty pennylands comprised the following: two pennylands of 'Balevickuish' (later called Kyles Bernera), the five pennylands of Baile Mhic Phail, the one pennyland of Garrivuchy, the one pennyland of Baile Mhic Conan, the one pennyland of Pennyvanich, the one pennyland of Goulaby, the four pennyland of Clachan Sand, the three pennyland of Reumisgarry, the one pennyland of Vallaquie, and one pennyland in Rowback. SRO GD 221, bundle 105, no. 19.
74. SRO GD 221, bundle 106, no. 5.
75. See appendix vi.
76. The distribution of pennylands in North Uist is also confined to the machair fringe, with one exception. See above pp. 110-11.

the pennyland unit and the north-eastern davach were also largely confined to the lower-lying lands; those best suited to arable farming.[77] A similar situation prevailed in Man where the treen and quarterland system was applied to land mostly below 600 feet and only to the better land below that elevation.[78]

The predominance of the five-penny and ten-pennyland units in the western highlands and islands indicates that the quarter-ounceland and the half-ounceland were important units in their own right.[79] Again, this is in keeping with the earlier evidence relating to the davach.[80] Sollas (North Uist) was recorded as an ounceland in 1505.[81] One of the Sollas townships was Cearameanach, ceathramh meadhonach, 'middle quarter'. Just south of Cearameanach is Malaclett and not far to the north, and almost in line with these two, lie Dunskellar and Sollas. All four occur in the 1718 rental, the first pair as joint farms, the other two as tacks.[82] It seems quite feasible that these four townships originated as quarters of the davach of Sollas, Cearameanach, therefore, performing precisely the function its name implies. The Manx treen was commonly divided into quarters and these were also named. In an agricultural sense the treen unit does appear to be very similar to the ounceland. The smallest treens were approximately 200 acres which compares with the estimated size of the ounceland.[83] The treen was a fixed, recognisable unit

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77. See above p. 110 and pp. 51-53.
78. Davies, 'Treens and Quarterlands', 115.
79. See above pp. 105-07.
80. See above pp. 51, 61.
81. RMS, ii, no. 2873.
82. SRO GD 221, bundle 106, no. 22.
83. The size of the treen was not uniform and varied from c.200-c.400 acres. Kinvig, The Isle of Man, 14.

whose bounds were normally demarcated by natural borders such as glens and streams.[84] All treens were named; their names being mainly of a descriptive nature referring to some topographical feature or to a family name.[85]

Documentary references to ouncelands in the western seaboard and western isles fail to shed any light on the question of the relationship of land unit and church. In the north-east it was observed that parish churches were commonly endowed with a half-davach.[86] There is no evidence of a similar policy of endowment in the west. Possibly this is partly the result of a lack of surviving grants of church land in the west. However, part of the explanation seems to be that in those parts church endowment was on a much lesser scale than in the north-east. It appears that it was the pennyland, that is 1/20 of an ounceland, rather than the ounceland or half-ounceland, which was the common endowment of a church in the west. In 1262, Walter, earl of Menteith, confirmed to Paisley Abbey a gift of Dubhgall, son of Sween, of the church of Colmanelo (Kilcalmonell) in Kintyre with one pennyland pertaining to the church.[87] A similar endowment is found in the south-west.[88] Exactly why churches in the west were getting appreciably less than the half-davach which many churches in the dioceses of Moray and Aberdeen received by way of endowment is not clear. One possible explanation is that in the west there were

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84. Davies, 'Treens and Quarterlands', 102.
85. Ibid., 110.
86. See above p. 58.
87. Pais. Reg., 121.
88. Ibid., 112; Glas. Reg., i, no. 187.

fewer parish churches than in the east and parishes in the west were so vast that a number of small chapels were required which also had to be endowed.

The theory that every davach had a church has already been examined although the evidence precluded any conclusions being reached.[89] Certainly there is a possibility that in the Isle of Man every treen may have had a keeill and that in Orkney every urisland had a chapel.[90] Given that it has been possible to draw many parallels between the Manx treen, the Orcadian urisland and the tírunga of the west highlands and islands it may be that there was a relationship between the system of land assessment based on the ounceland and the pattern of chapel distribution in the west. It is possible that a relationship existed in Assynt where each davach may have had a chapel.[91] In North Uist the church is closely linked with the ounceland and pennyland units. This is partly evident from place-names such as Unganab, 'the abbot's ounceland', and Pennyvanich, 'the monk's pennyland'. Also, many of the North Uist ouncelands and pennylands are located at or near proven ecclesiastical sites, for instance Goulaby, Boreray and Oronsay.[92] The same must have been true of Paible although no evidence beyond its name now survives.[93] Until more work has been done on chapel sites in the west of Scotland it is impossible to determine whether there was any definite relationship between land unit and church.

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89. See above pp. 75-6.
90. See above pp. 74-5. A close relationship between chapel sites and scattalds in Shetland has also been noted. Cant, 'Settlement, Society and Church Organisation', 174.
91. See above pp. 75-6.
92. SRO GD 221, bundle 105, no. 19; RMS, ii, no. 2873.
93. Paible, 'the priest's abode'.

In the north-east there appeared to be a link between the davach and the thanage and a thanage of six davachs was not uncommon.[94] A larger territorial unit based on a grouping of six ouncelands or davachs may have prevailed in the west also. Duirinish (in Skye) was rated as six ouncelands.[95] In 1590, Torquil MacLeod of Lewis granted to his wife six davachs of land in Lewis.[96] Circa 1320 Robert I granted to Roderick, son of Alan various lands including three davachs of Knoydart, six davachs of Eigg and Rum and six and three-quarter davachs in South Uist.[97] The district of Sunart was rated as three ouncelands and the isle of Tiree was three ouncelands.[98] Glenelg comprised twelve davachs.[99] Killypole, in Kintyre, was twelve ouncelands whilst the largest recorded ounceland grouping of all was Morar at twenty-four ouncelands, possibly four groups of six ouncelands.[100] There were exceptions: namely Kintail at ten davachs and Assynt at four davachs.[101] Nevertheless it does seem apparent that in the west ouncelands and davachs were most commonly grouped in sixes or subdivisions or multiples of six.[102] This is further reflected by the grouping of pennylands. Although these were most commonly grouped in twenties (the equivalent of one davach or one

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94. See above pp. 71-72.
95. Dunvegan Bk., no. 1.
96. OPS, ii, pt. i, 385.
97. RMS, i, App. i, no. 9.
98. Ibid., i, no. 520; Highland Papers, i, 76.
99. Dunvegan Bk., no. 7.
100. RMS, ii, no. 3170; ibid., i, App. i, no. 114.
101. RRS, vi, no. 485; ibid., no. 487.
102. In the light of this evidence it seems most likely that the Sutherland groupings of davachs, also in sixes (and threes), related to this system rather than to any unusual pennyland grouping.

ounceland) larger groupings of 120 (six davachs) and 60 pennylands (three davachs) are also found.[103]

In the north-east it was suggested that six davachs may have comprised a thanage.[104] The six-ounceland or davach units in the west must surely have represented a larger unit, perhaps also a thanage. But as yet no thanages have been discovered in the west. Their distribution is confined to the north-east, in particular to the coastal plains.[105] The dating of the appearance of the thanage has long been a matter of debate and Malcolm II (1005-34), Malcolm III (1058-93) and David I (1124-53) have all been credited with its introduction.[106] From the twelfth century on the thanage was an administrative unit presided over by a royal official one of whose duties was to supervise the exaction of various dues such as cain or conveth.[107] Like cain and conveth it may well be that the thanage was a much older institution. Therefore if the thanage was a new term applied to an old institution there is every likelihood that it would be familiar in the west highlands and islands as well as the north-east.[108] However, all of this presents a very tentative hypothesis which rests largely on the theory that a north-east thanage commonly consisted of six davachs and until

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103. For the grouping of pennylands see above pp. 133-34.
104. See above pp. 71-72.
105. Two thanages are recorded south of the Forth namely Callendar and Haddington. R. Muir, 'Thanages', Historical Atlas, edd. McNeill and Nicholson, 27, 126.
106. Ibid., 27.
107. Ibid., 27. It has been noted that cain and conveth were levied on the basis of the davach. See above p p. 90-93. At least two and probably three, royal thanages had the word conveth applied to them as a place-name. Barrow, Kingdom, 47.
108. Perhaps it gradually fell into desuetude in the west whilst in the north east (an area more open to English influence) it was rejuvenated as the thanage.

further research is conducted on the thanage it is impossible to reach any conclusions. Nevertheless, whether or not there is any relationship between the thanage and the davach what does seem clear is that a unit based on six davachs or six ouncelands did exist and presumably with a purpose - more than likely to facilitate the collection of various dues. The fact that davachs and ouncelands were grouped in sixes in the north-east and in the west highlands and islands is further evidence that they were one and the same unit whose origins may be traced to a common source. The common source may be Dalriada.

Six ouncelands was the equivalent of 120 pennylands and there is evidence of a system based on 120 houses in Dalriada as early as the seventh century.[109] The Senchus Fer nAlban records the houses belonging to the Cenél nOengusa distributed among what seems to be districts of Islay as follows:

Oidech	20	houses
Freg	120	"
Calad Rois	60	"
Ros Deorand	30	"
Ard hEs	30	"
Loch Rois	30	"
Ath Cassil	30	"
?	30	" [110]

The significance of the twenty house unit in the system of assessment in the kingdom of Dalriada cannot be denied and the appearance of the 120 house grouping (six times the twenty

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109. The pennyland was the later equivalent of the house. See above p. 126.
110. Bannerman, Dalriada, 48.

houses) is a strong indication that the framework for the organisation of the later davach and ounceland into larger territorial units of six was already present in the seventh century in Dalriada. Was this framework based on a duodecimal system of counting, the precursor of what later became known as the long hundred (12 x 10 or 120)?[111]

In ancient Ireland military organisation was based on the trícha cét, literally 'thirty hundreds'. As time went on the term trícha cét became increasingly removed from its military implications and from the eleventh century it was invariably regarded as the name for a territorial division.[112] In his History of Ireland Keating records that the trícha cét was a territorial division containing 30 baile bíataighs.[113] This implies that the baile bíataigh of medieval Ireland was

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111. The long hundred was certainly used in Scotland at a later date. It is in general use throughout the Exchequer Rolls for numbers not referring to money (P. Gouldesbrough, 'The Long Hundred in the Exchequer Rolls', SHR, 46 (1967), 82). A duodecimal system of reckoning was known in Anglo-Saxon England (Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 564; R. Poole, The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century (London 1912), 45). It has been suggested that the long hundred was used because eleven and twelve were primary numbers and therefore used in the system of reckoning (W.H. Stevenson, 'The Long Hundred and its use in England', Archaeological Review, 4 (1889), 315). The word hundraƺ originally meant 120 in Old Norse. Later 120 and 100 were distinguished as tólfrætt hundraƺ = 120 and tírætt hundraƺ = 100. Levies of ships and troops in the laws and sagas were counted by duodecimal hundreds, e.g. the body-guard of King Olave consisted of a hundred hirƺ-men, 60 house-carles and 60 guests, in all two hundred men i.e. 240 (Icelandic-English Dict., 292). It has been suggested that the Irish also used the long hundred (E. O'Curry, On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish, ed. W.K. Sullivan (Dublin 1873), i, p. xcii).

112. J. Hogan, 'The Trícha-Cét and Related Land Measures', Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (hereafter PRIA), 38 (1928-9), 149.

113. G. Keating, The History of Ireland, 4 vols., ed. D. Comyn (Irish Text Society, London 1902) Baile bíataigh - Irish land measure; by the end of the sixteenth century confined to those parts of the country most remote from English influence and which remained more purely Gaelic throughout the medieval period. T. McErlean, 'The Irish Townland System of Landscape Organisation', in Landscape Archaeology in Ireland, edd. T. Reeves-Smyth and F. Hamond (BAR British Series, 116, 1983), 326.

the hundred unit of ancient Ireland.[114] The absence of any early Irish evidence for a civil hundred has provided a serious obstacle to the theory that the cét corresponded to any territorial division of the community at an early period.[115] However, possible evidence for a civil hundred unit on which Irish military organisation, as represented by the trícha cét, was originally based may be found in the Senchus Fer nAlban where the phrase 'cét treb i n-Íle' is recorded.[116] This is perhaps best translated as 'a hundred houses in Islay'. It has been thought that this phrase refers to the list of districts which follow and on this assumption it has been argued that treb cannot be the equivalent of tech, 'house' because the houses listed add up to 350.[117] However, treb can mean house and the meaning is perhaps '100 houses in Islay' plus those listed.[118] If so this would produce a closer agreement with the total number of houses of the Cenél nOengusa (whose territory was Islay) which is recorded at the end of the survey as 430.[119] It is impossible to be anything other than speculative on this but it is feasible

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114. The hundred unit was also familiar in Wales where it was known by the term cantref (100 hamlets). It has been alleged that the Welsh cantref is the successor of the gwlad or tud, 'people' or 'tribe'. J.E. Lloyd, A History of Wales (London 1911), i, 302; Binchy, Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship, 23.
115. Hogan, 'The Trícha-Cét', 155.
116. Bannerman, Dalriada, 42.
117. Ibid., 56 n.40.
118. R.I.A. Dict: T: 280f. D. O Corrain sees no great difficulty in equating tech and treb. He takes tech to represent the household and, by implication, the land of the normal freeman and this is precisely the meaning treb has in the Irish law-tracts. O Corrain, 'Review', 172. If the 100 houses in Islay represented demesne land they may not have been listed according to district.
119. Bannerman, Dalriada, 49.

that the hundred unit lay behind the somewhat curious groupings of davachs and ounclands into sixes, groupings which may be traced to seventh-century Dalriada.

Attempts have been made to equate the davach and the ounceland with the baile bíataigh.[120] What seems more likely is that it was the six-davach or six-ounceland unit that corresponded to the baile bíataigh. The baile bíataigh was apparently a hundred unit capable of supplying 100 fighting men whilst the davach or ounceland was a unit of 20 houses (later pennylands) capable of supplying twenty fighting men. Thus the six-davach or six-ounceland unit comprised 120 houses and could presumably supply in the region of 120 fighting men.[121] A comparison of the size of the units also favours an equation of the baile bíataigh with the six-davach unit rather than with the single davach. The baile bíataigh normally comprised approximately 1,600 acres whilst the davach or ounceland was normally approximately 200 acres.[122] This seems further confirmed by the tendency of the davach to bear names in baile (Bal-), or pett (Pit-, not infrequently assimilated to names in baile) where it is quite obvious that these are not tribal/lineage homelands of the baile bíataigh type but much smaller units. Keating stated that the baile bíataigh contained twelve seisreacha and the seisreach, 'ploughland', 120

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120. Ibid., 141. O Corrain expressed doubts about this view. O Corrain, 'Review,' 180.
121. See above pp. 32-34 for houses and clients and above pp. 85-87. and below pp. 158-61 for fighting force of davach and ounceland.
122. P.J. Duffy, 'The Territorial Organisation of Gaelic Land Ownership and its Transformation in County Monaghan, 1591-1640', Irish Geography, 14 (1981), 3. For acreage of davach and ounceland see above pp. 54-60, 146.

acres.[123] If correct this gives a baile bíataigh of 1440 acres. The ploughland was used in Leinster and Munster in the late medieval period and in West Cork and Kerry a quarter unit was in use which comprised three ploughlands.[124] A number of estates are found composed of twelve ploughlands suggesting a large unit of four quarters, each of three ploughlands.[125] It may well be that the baile bíataigh or its equivalent was in use in these areas at an earlier period. If so, this would support Keating's contention that the baile bíataigh contained twelve seisreacha. Perhaps also significant is the fact that in Scotland the davach was normally the equivalent of two ploughgates which again equates the baile bíataigh of twelve seisreacha with six davachs.[126]

It is also interesting to note that in the carucated districts

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123. Keating, History of Ireland, i, 113. Very little is known about the precise meaning of seisreach, 'ploughland'. Originally seisrech meant a team of six beasts, a ploughteam, R.I.A. Dict., R, 156.
124. McErlean, 'Irish Townland System', 322.
125. McErlean is of the opinion that although Leinster and Munster did not have a large unit comparable to the baile bíataigh of Ulster by the late sixteenth century they did possess a larger unit at an early period and he argues, quite convincingly, that 'a comparatively uniform system of land division was once in operation throughout the country'. McErlean, 'Irish Townland System', 315, 326.
126. For relationship of davach and ploughgate see above pp. 54-66. The ploughgate in Scotland comprised 104 acres (Scots) and was comparable with the English ploughgate (and hide) and the Irish ploughland. For full discussion of the ploughgate see below chapter seven.

of England assessment by sixes, threes and twelves was prevalent and a system of division into hundreds or shires each of twelve carucates or ploughlands was followed.[127] Every Lincolnshire village assessed at twelve carucates was known as a hundred in the eleventh century.[128] This system has been attributed to the Danes as it was found in that part of England which was settled by the Danes.[129] However, the parallels which may be drawn with the grouping of land units in Scotland and Ireland perhaps implies that the origin of this system may lie elsewhere and may be considerably older than the period of the Danish conquest (ninth century).[130]

The derivation of the ounceland suggests a fiscal origin and a study of the documentary material makes it clear that the ounceland did function in a fiscal capacity during the medieval period. The ounceland served as the unit upon which military service was assessed and in the west highlands and islands this meant service at sea as well as service on the land. When King David II granted eight ouncelands of Garmoran to Reginald, son of Roderick of the Isles, Reginald was to render service by sea and by land.[131] That a similar levy from land and sea was most likely is hinted at in the wording of a document by which Angus, son of John of the Isles held 24 ouncelands of Morar and two ouncelands in Mull from King David II, making

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127. J.H. Round, Feudal England (London, 1895), 69, 73.
128. F.W. Stenton, Introduction to the Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey, edd. C.W. Foster and T. Longley (The Lincoln Record Society, 19, 1924, reprinted 1976) p. xiv.
129. Round, Feudal England, 79.
130. Although the duodenary system of reckoning was important in Scandinavia it would appear that its use was widespread and it seems to have been used in Scotland and Ireland from a very early date.
131. RRS, vi, no. 73.

service for these lands 'as much by sea as by land, used and wont'.[132] In most instances the documents fail to specify the amount of military service due from each ounceland, perhaps the omission in itself suggesting that there was a recognised amount of service due. There is a considerable body of evidence which implies that one pennyland was normally responsible for providing one fighting man.[133] This would imply that an ounceland should provide twenty men. Certainly this appeared to be the case in 1304 when it was ordered by Lachlan MacRuari that each davach should furnish a galley of twenty oars.[134] However, there are recorded exceptions to the theory that one ounceland supplied twenty men. In 1343, Torquil MacLeod of Lewis was entailed in the four davachs of Assynt for the service of one ship of twenty oars.[135] At the same time Malcolm, son of Tormod MacLeod of Dunvegan, held eight davachs and five pennylands in Glenelg for the service of one ship of 26 oars.[136] The service of one ship of 26 oars and two ships of sixteen oars each was required from seventeen ouncelands held by Alexander MacLeod of Dunvegan in 1498.[137]

Differences in the number of oars may not be significant if this was governed by the particular type of vessel in use in the area at that time. Whether one ship was provided by one ounceland, four ouncelands, five ouncelands or eight ouncelands is a matter of much greater significance. If these

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132. RMS, i, App. 1, no. 114.
133. For this evidence see above pp. 118-20.
134. CDS, ii, no. 1633. For further reference to military service see above pp. 81-88.
135. RRS, vi, no. 487.
136. Dunvegan Bk., 275.
137. Ibid., no. 1.

records are accurate they provide examples of one ounceland supplying three men, five men or twenty men. Surely if service was commonly demanded in such small quantities as three men from the ounceland the pennyland would not have functioned in the system of military assessment.[138] In view of the fact that these examples indicate a system with wide ranging variations in liabilities; that each one stands as an isolated example; that service is frequently described in medieval documents by the phrase 'as much as pertains to an ounceland' suggesting a standard, recognised amount, it is possible that these variations are simply the result of errors in transcription, particularly conceivable in the listing of Roman numerals. What may have been originally intended in the documents was that each ounceland had to provide one ship, as is explicitly stated in the MacRuari document of 1304 and perhaps through time the meaning of the render became obscured and became applied to the total number of ouncelands granted rather than to each individual ounceland.[139] It is unlikely that the productivity of the land affected the amount of service due as the people who received the above-mentioned grants all occupied lands very similar to one another.

An alternative explanation may be that these exceptions are representative of the fact that certain recipients had favourable treatment from the crown. All the examples listed required less than twenty men from the ounceland and they may well represent exceptional grants given as a special favour. If the normal

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138. For military service assessed on the pennyland see above pp. 118-20.
139. CDS, ii, no. 1633.

practice was that one ounceland provided twenty fighting men it would not be necessary to state this in every grant. Only abnormal grants would have to be specified. Thus there is no sound evidence to counter the theory that the ounceland normally supplied in the region of twenty fighting men. This is in keeping with the provision of twenty men from the davach and one man from the pennyland and it is also very similar to the assessment due from the twenty-house unit of seventh-century Dalriada.[140]

The ancient Gaelic dues of cain and conveth were probably also assessed on the ounceland although the evidence for this is lacking. Certainly these dues were levied from the pennyland and from the north-eastern davach.[141] Evidence regarding the renders payable from ouncelands is also severely limited and again must be substantiated by turning to the pennyland and the north-eastern davach. Money renders were known as were grants in blenche-ferme and presumably knight-service and prayer were also common.[142] These renders were certainly familiar to recipients of pennylands and north-eastern davachs.[143] A more unusual render was payable from one and a half ouncelands in Skye. In 1508 King James IV granted to a 'Highland' student of law, Kenneth Williamson the ounceland of Kilmartin and half of the ounceland of 'Baramosmor' in Trotternish 'to hold the said Kenneth at the schools and to learn and study the king's laws of Scotland and afterwards to

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140. For further discussion of these see above pp. 85, 118-20, 30.
141. See above pp. 120, 90-93.
142. RMS, iv, no. 204; RRS, vi, no. 485.
143. See above pp. 114-17 and pp. 76-80 for examples.

exercise and use the same within the bounds of the Isles'.[144] This was a fairly substantial gift of land.

It remains now to consider the origins of the ounceland. Although there is no surviving documentary reference to the ounceland before the second half of the thirteenth century it is likely that it was in use as a land measure well before this date. The introduction of the ounceland is commonly attributed to the Scandinavians who, it is believed, levied a tax of an ounce of silver upon the davach and, in the process, renamed it as the ounceland.[145] Certainly there are indications of Scandinavian influence in the system of land assessment based on the ounceland, nowhere more so than in its geographical distribution. The ounceland is confined to those parts of the country which were colonised to a greater or lesser extent by the Norse, namely the northern isles of Orkney and Shetland, the north-east district of Caithness and parts of the western isles and western seaboard.[146] This surely implies that whether or not the ounceland was introduced by the Norse it was they who were responsible for its distribution. It is conceivable that they found it already established in one of the districts in which they settled and from there they may have adopted it and used it elsewhere. This may partly explain why it appears to be better established in some areas than in others. For instance, there is little record of its existence in Caithness and in Shetland it seemed to become

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144. Coll. de Rebus Alban, no. 1.
145. McKerral, 'Ancient Denominations', 54-5; Thomas, 'What is a Pennyland?', 258.
146. See above pp. 134-42 and appendix vi.

fairly insignificant at an early date whereas in Orkney it remained an important unit until the modern period. It may well have reached Shetland and Caithness via Orkney. It is also fairly well-established in the western isles and parts of the western seaboard and it is possible that it may have originated in this area. The absence of the ounceland in the area between Sunart and Kintyre, that part which remained under the control of the native Celts and which formed the base of Somerled's operations when the Celts attempted a notable political and cultural revival, may provide the strongest evidence for the claim that the ounceland was introduced by the Scandinavians as it may well have failed to penetrate this area. However, as already discussed, this distribution pattern may be governed, to a considerable extent, by the incidence of documentary survival especially as there is no record of the davach in this area either and yet it was this area, between Sunart and Kintyre, which formed the kingdom of Dalriada in the seventh century and it is to the twenty-house unit of seventh-century Dalriada that the origins of the davach system of assessment may ultimately be traced.[147]

Attempts have been made to compare the Old Norse system of naval organisation known as leidang with the treen system of the Isle of Man and the ounceland system of Orkney.[148]

The coastal areas of Norway were divided into districts known

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147. For distribution pattern see above pp. 134-36. For relationship of twenty-house unit and davach see above p. 98.
148. Marwick, 'Leidang in the West', 26; Marstrander, 'Treen og Keeill', 429; Crawford, 'The Earldom of Caithness,' 98-99.

as shipredes (Old Norse skipreiður) for the purpose of naval assessment.[149] Each shiprede was responsible for the provision, manning and equipment of one ship. In western Norway a small group of farms within each shiprede was responsible for providing one man with full arms, equipment and provender. This was known as a manngerd (Old Norse mannger). In south-east Norway the corresponding term was lide (Old Norse liði).[150] The smallest size of longship permitted by law was a ship of thirteen benches and 26 oars.[151] Thus there were at minimum 26 manngerds or lides in one shiprede.

It has been argued that the Manx quarterland and the Orkney skatland, that is the quarter-treen and the quarter-ounceland, corresponded to the Norse manngerd or lide and therefore were responsible for providing and equipping one man for the fleet.[152] No satisfactory attempt has been made to furnish a Manx or an Orcadian equivalent to the larger Norwegian district, the shiprede.[153] Given that there were approximately 200 treens in Man and 200 ounclands in Orkney according to this method of reckoning both islands were capable of supplying in the region of 800 men for ship service. An estimate based on the smallest Norwegian ship, that is 26 oars, would give the Manx and Orcadian fleets an approximate

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149. King Hakon the Good is credited with the organisation of this system in the tenth century. Marwick, 'Leidang in the West', 15.
150. Ibid., 16.
151. H. Marwick, 'Naval Defence in Norse Scotland', SHR, 28-9 (1949-50), 3.
152. Marwick, 'Leidang in the West', 26, 29; Marstrander, 'Treen og Keeill', 429.
153. Marstrander originally held the opinion that the Manx sheading corresponded to the Norwegian shiprede and that the treen was equivalent to the manngerd or lide but he later changed his view. Marwick, 'Leidang in the West', 17; Marstrander, 'Treen og Keeill', 429.

total of 30 ships each.[154] It has been suggested that the typical Orkney longship was probably a twenty-sesser, that is a ship of 40 oars.[155] This would produce a fleet of twenty ships. These figures seem rather conservative. Indeed Man provided war-ships for King John and Henry III of England and in one case the size of the fleet normally to be provided is given as 50 galleys.[156] It does not seem rash to assume that Man was not surrendering her total fleet and leaving her own shores unprotected. Therefore, presumably her fleet exceeded 50 vessels at this time. An alternative suggestion, that the four-quarterland unit in Man combined to provide and support one fighting man, has also been put forward.[157] However, this would provide no more than five twenty-sessers or seven thirteen-sessers and does not seem feasible.

It seems highly probable that both Man and Orkney were capable of providing fleets considerably larger than these calculations would allow and another alternative is that it is the treen or ounceland which should be compared with the Norwegian shiprede as the unit responsible for supplying one ship. The lide may then be compared with the Orcadian pennyland as a unit responsible for supplying one man.[158] Certainly there is

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154. It was ships of 26 oars which were to be rendered by Thomas Randolph in return for his grant of the Isle of Man from King Robert I in 1313 and a ship of 26 oars was a common render in medieval land grants in the west of Scotland. RMS, i, App. no. 32; Highland Papers, iv, 196.
155. Marwick, 'Leidang in the West', 24.
156. Megaw, 'Norseman and Native', 26.
157. Ibid., 20. This might be compared with the Carolingian system whereby four manses (later five) combined to provide and support one fighting man - one providing the man, the other three his equipment and upkeep. C. Warren Hollister, Anglo-Saxon Military Institutions, (Oxford 1962) 42-3.
158. In the Isle of Man there is no evidence of a unit corresponding to the pennyland and if each treen supplied one ship it is possible that each quarterland would provide four or five men.

conclusive evidence that the davach in the west was required to provide one ship of twenty oars and there are also examples of one pennyland in the west providing one fighting man.[159] If each Orcadian pennyland supplied one man for ship service this would furnish a fleet of 90 twenty-sesser ships or approximately 138 thirteen-sessers. These figures seem more probable given the importance of war-galleys during the period. According to the method of assessment recorded in the Senchus Fer nAlban the kingdom of Dalriada could turn out a fleet of 140 seven-sessers as early as the seventh century.[160] Indeed, it is with the system of assessment of ship service in seventh-century Dalriada that the Norse leidang system finds its closest parallels.

In Dalriada the twenty-house unit was responsible for furnishing 28 men for service at sea and in this sense it compares closely with the shiprede of Norway. Each house provided approximately one man and thus may be compared to the Norwegian lide. Therefore, whether or not the ounceland system of assessment was introduced to the west highlands and islands by the Scandinavians the theory that it was based on the Norse system of naval defence must be discounted as it is quite clear that there was a system of naval defence, very similar to the Norse system, in operation in seventh-century Dalriada long before the Norse ever settled in Scotland.

It has been shown above that the davach and pennyland units of assessment were based on the system of assessment

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159. CDS, ii, no. 1633; RMS, i, App. no. 107; Inventory of Lamont Papers, p. 7, no. 10.
160. Bannerman, Dalriada, 49.

in operation in seventh-century Dalriada and it is unquestionable that the ounceland was simply the davach by another name. Therefore, the roots of the system upon which the ounceland was based clearly lie with the Scots of dark-age Dalriada. The ounceland represented the amount of land which paid tax to the value of one ounce of silver, not necessarily collected in precious metal, although whether the introduction of this tax may be attributed to the Scots is uncertain. The claim that the ounceland was imposed by the Scandinavians as a direct consequence of King Harald's invasions of the British Isles during the ninth century is unsubstantiated.[161] The evidence for Harald's activity is exclusively Icelandic and is preserved in sagas that are an unreliable guide to the period. There is no record of Harald's activity in British or Irish sources and the absence of any such references casts great doubt on the reliability of a tradition which is best understood as a later elaboration, probably modelled on the expedition of Magnus Barelegs in 1098 and 1102.[162] Furthermore, there is no evidence which suggests that under normal circumstances the population of the Hebrides was taxable, as far as annual taxes are concerned, by the Norwegian crown.[163] Also, there is no evidence of the ounce

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161. Thomas, 'What is a Pennyland?', 258.
162. Sawyer, 'Harald Fairhair and the British Isles', 105-7.
163. The relationship between Norway and the northern isles seems to have been rather different. In 1193 Earl Harald gave his support to the men of the Isles who took up arms against King Sverre of Norway. That king clearly took the view that Earl Harald and his followers had been guilty of a breach of the obligation due to him as overlord and suzerain of Orkney and Shetland. A. Odd Johnsen, 'The Payments from the Hebrides and the Isle of Man to the Crown of Norway', SHR, 48 (1969), 33-4.

being used as a land measure in Scandinavia whereas the ounce was in use as a measure of land in Wales in the eighth century and the Irish cow-land of the seventh-century Irish laws, which was regarded as the amount of land for which a tax of one cow was payable annually, was elsewhere equated in value with an ounce of silver as early as the eighth century.[164] A further link between the Irish cow-land and the Hebridean ounceland lies in the fact that the word for the Irish land unit tír mbó, 'land of a cow' is structured in the same way as tír unga. This similarity is interesting as the nomenclature of the ounceland has commonly been attributed to the Scandinavians even though the derivation of the term tírunga contains no Scandinavian element.

If, as seems apparent, the Manx treen was the equivalent of the ounceland it is interesting to note that the treen may be pre-Scandinavian. Much of the evidence for this rests on the theory that each treen originally had its own keeill (chapel) and that all keeills are of a pre-Scandinavian origin.[165] However, at present, all that is certain is that the keeill burial ground sites are pre-parochial and a number have produced evidence of use before the ninth century.[166] Nevertheless, although it cannot yet be determined whether the treen system of land assessment belonged to the pre-Norse period it is clear that the treen developed under Gaelic

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164. For Welsh ounce see above pp. 144-45. Binchy, CG, 8, 68, 77.
165. This theory was put forward by Marstrander in his article 'Treen og Keeill', 416. Approximately 174 keeills or keeill sites have been discovered in Man, usually in an elevated position and accompanied by a burial ground.
166. Megaw, 'Norseman and Native', 20.

influence. Taxes due from the treens were collected by an official holding the title of maor, a variant of the term borrowed into all the branches of insular Celtic, ultimately from Romano-British Latin maior, 'steward'.[167] These dues included pecunia (moveable wealth, cattle) and acconeuez: clearly these are the familiar cain and conveth.[168] Thus the provision of hospitality to the king or his men was known officially by the old Gaelic term invariably used in the same sense in Scotland and Ireland. Man, like the Hebrides, does not appear to have been taxable by the Norwegian crown and the Manx people paid their dues to their own kings and to their church.[169] It does seem possible that the treen system was well-established in Man before the Viking age although the unit may have been known by a different name. Certainly this was the case in the Hebrides where the ounceland merely represented a change in nomenclature. The introduction of the term treen, if not the system, should probably be dated to the Norse period although whether its application to a unit of land was the result of Gaelic or Scandinavian influence is uncertain. It has been suggested that the term was introduced into Man under Earl Sigurd at the close of the tenth century, or possibly even earlier.[170]

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167. Ibid., 20; K. Jackson, Language and History in Early Britain (Edinburgh 1953), 328, 354, 582.
168. G.W.S. Barrow, 'Northern English Society in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', Northern History, 4 (1969), 22.
169. Odd Johnsen, 'Payments from the Hebrides', 33.
170. Marstrander, 'Treen og Keeill', 424.

The Hebridean ounceland must also be dated to the period of Scandinavian influence although here it is possible to be more accurate. The absence of the ounceland and the presence of the davach in Pictland indicates that it was the davach which was in use in the west when the Scots infiltrated Pictland in the mid-ninth century. Therefore, it can be firmly stated that the ounceland must be dated post mid-ninth century. The davach and the pennyland were probably introduced to Galloway by settlers who came there from the west highlands and islands during the tenth century.[171] If this supposition is correct the absence of the ounceland in Galloway may suggest that it was not yet in use in the west highlands and island at this time.

Historians have commonly linked the ounceland with the pennyland and postulated the theory that they were introduced simultaneously, each forming a part of one overall system.[172] Much of their argument was based on the theory that the ounceland and pennyland system was introduced by the Scandinavians and was based on the number of pennies in an ounce of silver; a theory which is no longer tenable.[173] It is equally possible, and more probable, that the ounceland and pennyland were introduced independently at different points in time. The use of the pennyland but not the ounceland in

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171. See above pp. 99, 122-3.
172. McKerral, 'Ancient Denominations', 54-5; Thomas, 'Ancient Valuation', 258.
173. Ibid., 258; McKerral, 'Ancient Denominations', 54-5. For full discussion of this theory see above pp. 123-4.

Galloway is a strong indication that the pennyland may pre-date the ounceland. Yet this is not conclusive as it is possible the ounceland was in use in Galloway although no record of its existence has survived.

In the light of the existing evidence the ounceland should probably be dated post-tenth century and pre-thirteenth century. Certainly it appeared to be well-established in Orkney in 1263 when King Hakon had a register made for his lendirmen and chieftains of the ouncelands on which they might quarter their men.[174] In the west highlands and islands, and possibly in Caithness, the northern isles and the Isle of Man, it was imposed on an already existing land unit and represented no more than a change in nomenclature.[175] Whether the decision to levy a tax of an ounce of silver from a unit of land and the application of the term ounceland to describe that unit of land should be seen as indigenous or Scandinavian remains uncertain: what is clear is that the ounceland was introduced during the period of Scandinavian influence and that its geographical distribution is restricted to areas of Scandinavian settlement.

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174. Marwick, The Orkney Norn, 202.
175. It has been suggested that the territorial units of Orkney were pre-Norse in origin and archaeological research suggests that the historical landscapes of Iron Age and Norse Orkney and Shetland were relatively similar. Smith, 'What is a Scattald?', 106.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ARACHOR

Another unit of land assessment found in early-medieval Scotland was the arachor. The earliest recorded survivals of the Gaelic term arachor are found in Latin documents dating from the first half of the thirteenth century where it appears in various forms such as _arrachar_, _arrochar_ and _arathor_.[1] Linguistically its terminology suggests an origin based on ploughing implying that it was a measure of arable land.[2] It seems to contain the word _ar_ meaning to plough and _arach_ is glossed 'achad an air no an treabhtha' literally 'the field of ploughing'.[3]

A survival of the land unit arachor may be found in the place and parish named Arrochar situated at the north end of Loch Long. This region is primarily mountainous and pastoral, containing a very

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1. _Lenn. Cart._, nos. 33, 82, Addenda no. 7.
2. For a discussion of the arable nature of the arachor see below pp. 176-7.
3. R.I.A. Dict.: A, 370, 373.

limited extent of arable. Some writers have claimed that Arrochar is derived from the Gaelic ard-thir or arrar meaning a hilly country which does correspond with the physical character of the parish.[5] However, the farm names Arrochymor and Arrochybeg are also found on the eastern shores of Loch Lomond, and it seems more likely that they are derived from arach and are therefore related to the system of land measurement, particularly in view of the geographical distribution of the arachor. It is interesting to note that in the eighteenth century cultivation by a team of delvers by spade is described as being usual at Luss and Arrochar.[6] Luss was certainly measured in arachors.[7] Perhaps both plough and spade were in use, even in the Middle Ages and possibly cultivation by the plough was eventually replaced by the spade on account of the superior productivity of the latter.[8]

The arachor is confined to that part of Scotland known as the Lennox.[9] Lennox encompassed almost the

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5. Fraser, Colquhoun, ii, 68. Neither W.J. Watson nor W.F.H. Nicolaisen, both eminent place-name scholars, have dealt with the place-name Arrochar.
6. Duncan, Kingdom, 319.
7. Fraser, Colquhoun, 272, no. 4.
8. Duncan, Kingdom, 319.
9. See appendix vii for distribution map of the arachor.

whole of modern Dunbartonshire including the parishes of Arrochar, Baldernock, Bonhill, Cardross, Dumbarton, Kilmaronock, New Kilpatrick, Old Kilpatrick, Luss, Roseneath and Rhu and also the parishes of Balfron, Buchanan, Campsie, Drymen, Fintry, Killearn, Kilsyth and Strathblane in Stirlingshire.[10] Within this area there is evidence of the arachor or its subdivision the quarter-arachor or quarterland, as it was commonly termed, in the parishes of Arrochar, Baldernock, Balfron, Bonhill, Buchanan, Campsie, Drymen, Fintry, Killearn, Kilmaronock, New Kilpatrick, Luss, Roseneath, Rhu and Strathblane.[11] There is no known documentary or place-name evidence of the arachor outwith the district of the Lennox.

Within the Lennox there are at least five examples of place-names derived from arach and presumably relating to the arachor.[12] Although the quarter-arachor was a very common unit there is no clear evidence of the quarter being used as a place-name in the Lennox.[13] There are references to various places in the Lennox

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10. Stringer, Earl David, 13-14. Kirkintilloch was originally a detached portion of Dunbartonshire and may have been regarded as part of the Lennox.
11. See appendix vii.
12. Arrochar, as mentioned above, located at NN 298.044; Milarrochy, presumably 'mill of the ploughing', located at NS 408.927; Arrochybeg, 'little ploughing', NS 414.926; Arrochymore, 'big ploughing', NS 416.918 and Arachoil, 'the ploughing of the wood', which survives today as a house name.
13. The term ceathramh, 'quarter', is found as a place-name element in other parts of Scotland where it normally represented a quarter of the major unit of land found in the area.

whose names contain the Gaelic word feòirling, 'farthing'.[14] The feòirling element in these names presumably referred to a farthingland and should probably be related to the pennyland system of assessment.[15] Feorlinbreck, the only Lennox feòirling name which can be identified today, is situated on the western extremity of the bounds of the Lennox and may reflect influence from the west highlands where the pennyland system prevailed.

It is unlikely that these names are an indication that the pennyland unit was at one time common throughout the Lennox because although the pennyland replaced the house unit in the west highlands and islands the house unit continued to be used in the Lennox at least until the fourteenth century and perhaps later. Thus if the pennyland did occur in the Lennox it was probably confined to the western bounds of the district.

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14. These names are Forlyngcarech 1513, Feorlinbreck 1672, Forleynmoir. (Fraser, Colquhoun Cartulary, 237, 245, 389). Feorlinbreck is located at NS 238.911. Forlyngcarech and Forleynmoir have not survived.
15. For a discussion of 'farthing' names in the south-west see MacQueen, 'Pennyland and Davoch', 69-74.

Much of the Lennox consisted of moorland, hills and mountains and the extent of arable ground was inconsiderable. Climatically, conditions were also unsuited to arable farming. According to an early-nineteenth century description the climate of the area was

> 'in general, mild and moist, unfavourable for agriculture, on account of the late springs, the showery and cloudy weather in summer and harvest, the frequent blighting winds from the mountains in spring and autumn and the premature setting in of winter; but singularly favourable for pasturage.' 16

Despite the pastoral nature of the area the arachor has an etymological connection with ploughing and a study of the geographical distribution of the arachor and the quarterland reveals that they were situated in the best land available.

The documentary sources reinforce the arable nature of the arachor. Arachors and their subdivisions were frequently granted with moors, meadows and pastures, an indication that the arachor itself was a measure of arable land.[17] Of course provision for the animals of the ploughteam necessitated that grants of arable should be accompanied by pastureland. It is difficult to ascertain the size of the plough-team in the Lennox as grants of pasture seldom refer to the type and number of animals. Two grants of pasture for eight

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16. Rev. A. Whyte and D. Macfarlan, A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Dumbarton (Glasgow 1811), 5. However, it is thought that a climatic optimum was reached in western Europe between 1100 and 1300 and climatic conditions in Scotland were probably more favourable towards agriculture in the period of this study than they are today. Duncan, Kingdom, 309.
17. Lenn. Cart., nos. 30, 33, 37.

oxen may be an indication that the eight-ox team was normal.[18] Further evidence of the arable nature of the arachor is found in references to mills. Arachors and their subdivisions were frequently granted with mills and multures (a render payable in grain in return for the use of the facilities of a mill).[19] At the end of the thirteenth century Thomas de Cremennane granted to Murdach, son of Corc the quarterland of Croy with the right of erecting a mill on the land of Croy and of grinding all the grain of Croy at his mill of Aschend, with no other payment except one firlot from each chalder, for the service of the miller.[20] The fact that the arachor was commonly equated, in documentary sources, with the ploughgate provides further testimony to the arable nature of the arachor as there is no doubt that the ploughgate was a measure of arable land.[21]

The size of the arachor is a more difficult question to answer as documentary sources make no reference to its acreage. It has been claimed that the arachor was equivalent to three-quarters of a ploughgate.[22] This theory was based on two sources. Firstly, a reference in the Origines Parochiales Scotiae to a grant of the land of Luss which appears to equate

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18. Pais. Reg., 126, 212.
19. Lenn. Cart., nos. 30, 65.
20. Ibid., nos. 76, 77.
21. Ibid., nos. 34, 37. For a discussion of the arable nature of the ploughgate see below pp. 217-9.
22. McKerral, 'Ancient Denominations', 52.

two arachors with one and a half ploughgates and secondly, an undated charter, probably circa 1285, by which Alexander of Dunhon, knight, granted to Sir Patrick Graham three-quarters of a ploughgate of lower Auchincloich, 'which in Scots (i.e. Gaelic) is called arachor'.[23] As a ploughgate was normally composed of 104 acres it was concluded that the arachor was a unit of 78 acres.[24] However, the reference from the Origines Parochiales Scotiae is unreliable as it is based on several documents, none of which mention ploughgates and the Auchincloich document has been misinterpreted.[25] A similar example is found in a confirmation of the Auchincloich grant:

> '... tres quartarias carucate terre de Auchincloich inferiori, que scotice vocatur arachor...'.

This confirmation also includes:

> '... tres quartarias carucate terre de Strablane, que scotice vocatur arachor...'.[26]

The clause 'que scotice vocatur arachor' has been assumed to refer to 'tres quartarias carucate' but a more accurate reading indicates that it referred only to 'carucate'. This point is further illustrated by a grant of Maldouen, third Earl of Lennox, to Sir David Graham of the half

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23. OPS, i, 31; HMC, 2nd report, App. 166, no. 14.
24. McKerral, 'Ancient Denominations', 52. For the size of the ploughgate see below pp. 204-14.
25. The reference in OPS, i, 31 is based on various entries in the Lennox Cartulary (Lenn. Cart., no. 17; Addenda nos. 8, 9). No reference is made to ploughgates in these documents.
26. Lenn. Cart., no. 37.

ploughgate of Strathblane, which in Scots (i.e. Gaelic) is called arachor.[27] On occasion scribes were more specific. For instance, Earl Maldouen granted to Stephen of Blantyre the half-ploughgate of Killearn '<u>que scotice vocatur Lecheracherach</u>', which in Scots (i.e. Gaelic) is called half-arachor'.[28] Thus it is quite clear that the arachor was being equated in documentary sources with the ploughgate rather than with any fraction thereof and since the ploughgate was normally a unit of 104 acres it is possible that the acreage of the arachor may have been similar.[29] Of course this would only be a rough measure influenced to a certain extent by such factors as natural boundaries. The place-names Arrochymor and Arrochybeg, 'big ploughing' and 'little ploughing', if they are references to the arachor, may indicate that its size was variable but that there was a recognised norm. In this respect it may be compared with the other major land units of early medieval Scotland.[30]

The arachor was subdivided into quarters and the quarterland was a very common grant of land in the Lennox. The size of the quarterland was clearly variable. A mid-fourteenth century grant of Donald, Earl of Lennox to Gilbert Oliphant of three quarter-lands included '<u>magnam quartariam de Porthnelane</u>',

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27. <u>HMC, 3rd report</u>, App., 386, no. 7.
28. <u>Lenn. Cart.</u>, no. 34.
29. However, see below pp. 182-83.
30. On the other hand, <u>mor</u> and <u>beag</u> in the place-name may merely mean that one farm was regarded as more important than the other.

'the big quarterland of Portnellan'.[31] Both arachors and quarterlands had names indicating that they were recognised, compact pieces of land whose bounds were fixed. Examples include the quarterland called Craigievern, the quarterland called Balcorrach and the quarter arachor called Gartocharn.[32] Their situation was commonly described in documents as lying between x and y indicating that they lay all in one piece. For instance, the quarterland called 'Nentbolg Ferdane' lay between 'Carsebethrune' on the one part and 'Culbachane' on the other.[33] The fact that the arachor and the ploughgate in the Lennox were both subdivided into four quarterlands is further evidence for seeing the arachor as the equivalent of one ploughgate rather than of three-quarters of a ploughgate. Patrick Galbraith received four quarterlands from Malcolm, Earl of Lennox in return for the army service which pertained to one ploughgate of land.[34]

One major question which must be examined is whether the ploughgate as it was used in the Lennox was the same as the ploughgate of south-east Scotland.[35] Not all Lennox ploughgates were equated with arachors and many grants of land are recorded in terms of the ploughgate

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31. Lenn. Cart., no. 56.
32. Ibid., nos. 43, 52, 82.
33. Ibid., no. 53.
34. Ibid., no. 31.
35. For the ploughgate of south-east Scotland see chapter seven, and particularly for a discussion of the differences between ploughgates north and south of the Forth-Clyde line see below pp. 224-30.

alone. It is notable that both terms are found in the thirteenth century but by the fourteenth the arachor disappears from the record.[36] This may be indicative of the spread of Anglo-Norman influence and a reluctance on the part of landowners and their clerks to use native Gaelic terms, preferring the Latin carucata which perhaps seemed to them to convey the same concept although it was not necessarily the exact equivalent. The Lennox has been described as 'an intensely Gaelic area to which feudalism came late'.[37] During the twelfth century the district of Lennox was not infiltrated by Anglo-Norman incomers and did not fall within the sphere of their influence although the earldom of Lennox, which was erected during this century was, at one time, in the possession of Earl David, brother of King William the Lion. Earl David did not hold the earldom for a long period. King William's charter establishes David's written title to the comitatus between 1178 and 1182.[38] He resigned his right no later than the 1190s when the Lennox returned to the possession of a native comital dynasty and it was on the initiative of the thirteenth-century native earls that Anglo-Norman families were brought in.[39]

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36. There are no references to either arachors or ploughgates in the Lennox before the thirteenth century. None of the charters copied into the Lennox Cartulary (the major source for the Lennox) belongs before 1200.
37. Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 135.
38. RRS, ii, no. 205.
39. Stringer, Earl David, 16, 18.

Certain basic differences between the ploughgate of south-east Scotland and the ploughgate as it was used in the Lennox serve to substantiate the theory that the Latin term carucata was being used in the Lennox to describe a different unit of assessment. Ploughgates of south-eastern Scotland were abstract units composed of rigs or areas scattered throughout the fields.[40] Also south-country ploughgates were seldom named; a further indication of their abstract nature.[41] In contrast the Lennox ploughgate was a compact piece of land which was commonly named. Examples include one ploughgate called Polnegulan (not located), that ploughgate which is called Buchanan (Buchanan) and that ploughgate which is called Muckcroft (Campsie).[42] Also noteworthy is the fact that there is no record of the oxgang in the Lennox. This was the common subdivision of the ploughgate in the south-east.[43] In the Lennox the normal subdivision of both the ploughgate and the arachor was the quarterland.

In view of the discrepancies between the ploughgate of the south-east and the ploughgate of the Lennox on the one hand and the similarities between the Lennox ploughgate and the arachor on the other it does not seem rash to claim that the appearance of the ploughgate in the Lennox represented no more than the application

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40. This is clearly illustrated by various grants of land. For example see Laing Chrs., no. 22 and below pp. 221-3.
41. See below p. 224.
42. CDS, i, no. 2174; Lenn. Cart., no. 56; ibid., no. 35.
43. See below p. 201.

by Anglo-Norman incomers of a term with which they were familiar to the unit of land assessment they found already in existence in the area. In other words the Latin carucata was in fact none other than the arachor by a different name. References to ploughgates in the Lennox in thirteenth-century documents are almost exclusively confined to grants to incoming families such as the Lindseys and the Grahams.[44] These ploughgates are normally situated in the lower reaches of the Lennox in the fertile areas of Strathblane and the wide valley of the Endrick Water. Some of them may represent land which was newly assessed on the basis of the ploughgate, although there is no evidence for this, and the majority, if not all, of the Lennox ploughgates were no more than the ancient divisions of the land which had merely undergone a change in terminology. Therefore, it could be misleading to apply evidence relating to the ploughgate of south-east Scotland directly to the arachor.[45]

Lands in the Lennox were granted in return for the normal renders of thirteenth and fourteenth century Scotland: payments in cash or kind, renders in blenche-ferme or knight service. However, there is no reference

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44. Lenn. Cart., nos. 35, 37, 50.
45. Thus there is no sound reason for postulating an arachor of 104 acres. See above p. 179.

to arachors being granted in free alms, a common render elsewhere. This is probably largely explicable by the fact that the church held very little land in the Lennox. Again similar to land units elsewhere in Scotland there is no evidence of a fixed rent. In terms of money, renders varied from one merk to six merks from one arachor.[46] Rents in kind included wax, pepper and cumin.[47] Renders in blench-ferme commonly took the form of one silver penny.[48]

Grants of arachors in return for knight service are very few and are confined to the fractional service of a knight. The quarter-arachor of Kilbride in Glenfruin (Rhu) was held for 1/20 part of the service of a knight and a quarterland in Auchincloich (Roseneath) was held for 1/32 part of a knight's service.[49] Both these lands were granted by Maldouen, Earl of Lennox and these lesser fractions are highly characteristic of infeftments created by subject superiors while whole, half or quarter knights' fees are normally found in royal grants.[50] A similar situation was seen to prevail in England.[51]

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46. HMC, 3rd Report, App. p. 388, no. 37; Fraser, The Lennox, ii, no. 7.
47. Lenn. Cart., nos. 33, 52.
48. Ibid., no. 43.
49. Ibid., Addenda, p. 91, no. 1; ibid., no. 25.
50. Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 133, 135.
51. S. Harvey, 'The Knight and the Knight's Fee in England', Past and Present, 49 (1970), 20.

By scaling up these fractional figures it is possible to give an estimate of the size of a knight's fee in terms of the arachor. Although the evidence is very limited it does produce results which are fairly consistent (ranging between five and eight arachors or Lennox carucates) which seems to suggest that there was an approximate reckoning of the number of arachors necessary to provide one knight.[52] There is one exception which implies a knight's fee of eighteen arachors but it is not clear whether this document is referring to knight service as such. It is described as forinsec service and was payable to the king rather than to the grantor of the land, 'faciendo forinsecum servitium domini Regis, quum evenerit, videlicet tertiam partem de octava parte servitii unius militis'.[53] This is closer to the size of a knight's fee in south-east Scotland which was, in terms of the number of ploughgates, much larger than in the Lennox.[54] This is presumably further evidence that the arachor and the Lennox carucata were not the same as the ploughgate of the south-east. The fact that knights' fees in the Lennox comprised a lesser number of arachors or ploughgates than knights' fees in the south-east may be an indication that the Lennox unit of assessment was larger than the 104 acre ploughgate.

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52. See appendix xix.
53. Lenn. Cart., no. 37.
54. For a discussion of the size of the knight's fee in relation to the ploughgate in south-east Scotland see below pp. 243-4 and for a comparison with the size of the knight's fee in Scotia also see below p.245.

The less-expensive feudal render of archer service was occasionally levied on fractions of the arachor and the smaller fractions of an arachor sometimes provided a fraction of the maintenance of an archer. A grant, circa 1373, by Walter of Faslane, lord of Lennox to Walter Buchanan of the half-quarterland of 'Cambrune' was to be held for the third part of the maintenance of one archer.[55]

Regardless of the render by which a landowner held his land he was also liable for the burden of forinsec service even if his tenure took the form of knight service.[56] In the Lennox forinsec service was assessed on the arachor and its subdivision, the quarterland. In the mid-fourteenth century Walter of Faslane held the land of Tullichewan (Bonhill) rendering in the common army of the king the forinsec service which pertained to one quarterland.[57] As in the rest of Scotia the term servitium Scoticanum, 'Scottish service' was used more frequently in the Lennox than forinsecum servitium which was more common in Scotland south of the Forth. Documents relating to the Lennox provide further evidence that forinsecum servitium was the exact equivalent of servitium Scoticanum. Malcolm, Earl of Lennox granted to Arthur Galbraith one quarterland of Balfunning (Drymen) in return for which he had to give the forinsec service which pertained to one quarterland in the earldom of Lennox in Scottish service.[58]

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55. HMC 3rd Report, App. p. 386, no. 29.
56. For an explanation of forinsec service see above pp. 81-3.
57. Lenn. Cart., Addenda, p. 92, no. 3.
58. Ibid., no. 28.

Forinsec service in the Lennox was basically the same as the military service found elsewhere in Scotland except that in the former it was quite often payable by a contribution in kind rather than in numbers of fighting men.[59] The quarter-arachor called Gartocharn (Kilmaronock) was responsible for providing in the king's army as much food as pertained to one quarterland in the Lennox '... tantum cibum quantum pertinet ad unam quartariam terre in comitatu de Levenax...'.[60] Moreover, a more exact description of the food levy is occasionally specified. In the mid-thirteenth century Maldouen, dean of Luss held the land of Luss rendering in the common army of the king two cheeses from each house in which cheese was made.[61] In the mid-fourteenth century Finlay of Campsie held two quarterlands and a half-quarterland in Campsie parish for which he gave forinsec service to the king of two cheeses from each house where there was cheese.[62] However, two cheeses was not an absolutely standard amount as the forinsec service required from the ploughgate called Buchanan (Buchanan) in the later-fourteenth century was only one cheese from each cheese-making household.[63]

In the words of one eminent historian, '... it remains a puzzle why the liability to service in the

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59. Payments in kind were not unique to the Lennox as there is an example of forinsec service which was payable in kind in Fife in 1263. One-third of the davach of Morton of Blebo (Kemback) was required to find the food of one man for forinsec service. (NLS Adv. Ms. 34.6.24., 248-9).
60. Lenn. Cart., no. 81.
61. Fraser, Colquhoun, ii, 272, no. 4.
62. Lenn. Cart., no. 52.
63. RMS, i, no. 371.

host was discharged by a payment in cheeses...' in the Lennox.[64] It has already been noted that the Lennox long remained a conservative region and this means of rendering forinsec service may represent a survival of an earlier practice. However, it must be remembered that in Dalriada as early as the seventh century the obligations of army service were fulfilled in terms of fighting men rather than by quotas of food.[65] Whether all army service from the Lennox was rendered in cheeses and perhaps other payments in kind is uncertain. There are many grants of arachors or quarterlands which refer to the liability of forinsec service without describing what it consisted of. This policy was common in other parts of the country and it is likely that in these instances the service was fulfilled in terms of fighting men. After all, it seems highly probable that the Lennox would be called upon to contribute a body of fighting men for service in the host particularly in view of its strategic position in relation to the Western Isles and western seaboard.

It may be that the fulfilment of military service by the payment of cheeses represents quite simply favourable grants to certain individuals, the terms of which it was thought necessary to record because they varied from the norm. Since exemptions from forinsec

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64. Duncan, Kingdom, 76.
65. See above p. 31 for army service in Dalriada in the seventh century.

service were rare it may have been customary to reduce the burden of this service by asking for payments in kind if the recipient of the land grant was held in especial esteem by the grantor. Naturally armies needed food and the explanation may be quite straightforward; that some lands would be responsible for the provision of the food whilst others were called upon to supply the fighting men.

As well as forinsec service the arachor also served as the unit for the levying of aid.[66] Maldouen, dean of Luss held the land of Luss rendering to the king the common aid which pertained to two arachors.[67] The quarterland also served as a unit for the assessment of aid. Malcolm, son of Gillemichael held the quarterland called Gartocharn (Kilmaronock) '.. faciendo de omnibus regalibus auxiliis quantum juste pertinet ad unam quartariam terre in comitatu de Levenax...'.[68] There is no surviving evidence to indicate that cain and conveth were also levied on the basis of the arachor and the quarterland although this was most likely the case.[69] Thus the arachor and the quarterland fulfilled for the Lennox a fiscal role similar to that of the other major land units of medieval Scotland.

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66. For an explanation of aid see above pp. 88-90.
67. Fraser, Colquhoun, ii, 272, no. 4.
68. Lenn. Cart., no. 81.
69. For the meaning of cain and conveth see above pp. 90-3.

The equation of the arachor with the ploughgate in thirteenth-century documents and the use of the ploughgate in the area of the arachor has led historians to suppose that the system of assessment in the Lennox was based upon a ploughgate system similar to that found in south-east Scotland.[70] For various reasons this thesis is no longer tenable. As discussed above, the way in which the terms arachor and ploughgate were used in the Lennox clearly indicates that both terms were referring to one and the same unit of land and it seems likely that the use of the ploughgate, '<u>carucata</u>' merely represents the application, by incoming clerks, of a term with which they were familiar to the units of land already established in the area.[71] It has also been argued, quite convincingly, that the ploughgate as it occurred in the Lennox differed, to a considerable extent, from the ploughgate of south-east Scotland.[72] Therefore, it seems quite clear that the arachor system of land assessment common to the Lennox should not be traced to the ploughgate system of south-east Scotland and its origins must be sought elsewhere.

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70. McKerral, 'Ancient Denominations', 52; Barrow, <u>Kingdom</u>, 274; Barrow, <u>Kingship and Unity</u> (London 1981), 14-15.
71. See above pp. 177-79.
72. This is discussed above. See pp. 180-83.

There are various indications that the system of land assessment found in the Lennox is linked to the Celtic system of assessment, variations of which are found in most parts of Scotland with the exception of the south-east and also in Wales, Ireland and the Isle of Man. One common factor in the assessment systems of these areas is the importance of quadripartite division and the role of the quarterland cannot be over-stressed. In the Lennox land was most commonly granted in quarterland units. The Lennox quarterland was a recognisable, fixed unit which was named and which featured prominently in the assessment of military service. The concrete identity of the arachor and the quarterland is also a common feature of the Celtic units of assessment, units which were normally named and where bounds would remain unchanged over centuries.[73]

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73. In many respects the arachor resembled the English sulung. Just as the arachor was confined to the Lennox the sulung was unique to the region of Kent (G. Slater, 'Social and Economic History', VCH Kent ed. W. Page (London 1932), iii, 322). Its etymology is based on ploughing and it was derived from the Old English sulh, 'a plough'. (A.R.H. Baker, 'Field Systems in Medieval Kent', Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles, eds. A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin (Cambridge 1973), 405). The sulung also followed a quadripartite division being composed of four yokes. (R. Welldon-Finn, An Introduction to Domesday Book (London 1963), 105). The sulung was an agricultural unit and sulungs were definite pieces of property which lay in compact plots and which had their own names. (Slater, VCH Kent, iii, 323; Vinogradoff, English Society, 202; Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 282). It also operated as a fiscal unit and burdens of taxation were distributed according to the number of sulungs and yokes. It is not known how long this system had been in operation but it has been suggested that the distribution of these units as recorded by Domesday Book preserves the outline of a system by which the local rulers of the kingdom of Kent had been maintained in the time of its independence. (Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 647).

The survival of the house unit in the Lennox is noteworthy, and its appearance along with the arachor and the quarterland in documentary sources implies that all three were operating as part of one and the same system of assessment in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the territory of the Lennox. Although no specific correlation is drawn between the arachor and the house it is implicit from the format of the documents that the arachor and the quarterland comprised a number of houses.[74] This may be compared with the system of assessment in seventh-century Dalriada where a grouping of houses, namely twenty, served as the basis for the assessment of military service.[75] Although the evidence is somewhat lacking it does seem possible that the arachor of the Lennox may have represented the twenty-house unit of seventh-century Dalriada and that it may be seen as the equivalent of the later twenty-pennyland unit or davach/ounceland found in parts of the west highlands and islands and the south-west in the medieval period. Certainly the size of a knight's fee reckoned in terms of each of these units was similar in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[76] If this was the case the

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74. Lenn. Cart., nos. 17, 52.
75. For a discussion of the system of assessment in Dalriada see chapter two.
76. See below p. 185 and above pp. 244-5 and appendices xvii, xviii and xix.

Lennox quarterland would comprise five houses and should perhaps be equated with the familiar five-house unit of early Dalriada and the later five-pennyland unit which was very common in the west highlands and islands and the south-west.[77] The smaller subdivision of the half-quarterland which was also found in the Lennox may therefore be comparable with the two and a half pennyland, a unit which occurs frequently in the west highlands and islands.[78]

The appearance of the house unit in the Lennox suggests that the origins of the system of assessment in use in this area in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may ultimately be traced to Ireland, perhaps reaching the Lennox directly from there or perhaps coming via the Scots of Dalriada.[79] Historically the Lennox formed an integral part of the kingdom of Strathclyde whose chief stronghold was at Dumbarton (Dùn Breatann). Strathclyde was occupied by Britons speaking a P-Celtic language now usually known as Cumbric. This kingdom was strong enough to retain a separate identity until the beginning of the eleventh century when, in 1018 the Scots, under Malcolm II,

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77. See above p p. 31, 105-7.
78. OPS, ii, pt. i, 190; RMS, ii, no. 2202; Highland Papers, ii, 121, no. 1.
79. The presence of the house unit in the Lennox is examined briefly above see pp. 38-9.

defeated the Bernicians at Carham on Tweed. This ensured permanent Scottish possession of Lothian and brought increased pressure to bear upon Strathclyde. At some point after this date Duncan I, grandson and successor (in 1034) of Malcolm II was king of Strathclyde and thus Strathclyde became part of a larger Scotland.[80]

Although the Lennox was part of the old British kingdom of Strathclyde the Dalriadic settlements had enabled Gaelic speakers to establish dominance there.[81] Consequently, in its society and culture the area had developed a greater affinity with Argyll, Kintyre and Gaelic Ireland than with those regions to the south and east where the Scots royal power was strongest.[82] Thus it seems quite feasible that the system of assessment found in the Lennox may be seen in this context. It was obviously a system of considerable antiquity. If it was the result of Scottish Dalriadic influence it can presumably be dated to some point after 500 and before circa 900 when the house seems to have been replaced by the pennyland in Dalriada.[83] The

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80. Duncan, Kingdom, 98.
81. Stringer, Earl David, 15. Place-name evidence suggests that Gaelic influence was present in Strathclyde before the eleventh century. See Nicolaisen, Scottish Place Names, 131-2.
82. Stringer, Earl David, 15.
83. For the dating of the pennyland see above p. 127.

absence of the term davach in the Lennox may be an indication that the Scots had introduced their system of assessment in the Lennox before they infiltrated Pictland in the mid-ninth century as they evidently used the davach at that time.[84] However, it is possible that the term davach was used in conjunction with the house unit in the Lennox although no record has survived and it may be that the term arachor was applied relatively late to an already existing unit of land. This may explain the use of a term based on the plough to describe a land measure as this was contrary to the normal practice in Celtic systems where land was commonly estimated in terms of the render it paid.[85]

If, however, the Lennox system of assessment was the result of direct influence from Ireland its origins may be even earlier. If the pedigree of the earls of Lennox is reliable it is possible that there was direct Irish influence in the Lennox as early as the fifth century.[86] According to a poem written by Muiredach úa Dálaigh, the Irish bard who flourished in the early-thirteenth century, Corc came from Munster to Alba and married Leamhain, daughter of Feradach.[87]

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84. See above p. 98.
85. E.g. see above p. 46 for application of the term davach to a unit of land.
86. Skene, Celtic Scotland, iii, 476.
87. Ibid., 454-5.

Corc and Leamhain had a son named Maine from whom the earls of Lennox were supposedly descended.[88] Corc was a contemporary of Saint Patrick in the fifth century.[89] However, even if the ancestors of the earls of Lennox did come from Munster there is the faint possibility that they came with the Dalriada whose eponymous ancestor Cairpre Riata migrated to Munster and was then driven northwards to Ulster and from there to Scotland.[90]

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88. It has been suggested that Maine was the grandson, not the son, of Corc (Watson, CPNS, 221). Presumably the earls of Lennox believed this pedigree as Alwyn, second earl of Lennox, had a son named Corc. Lenn. Cart., pxi, nos. 76, 77.
89. Skene, Celtic Scotland, iii, 341.
90. Bannerman, Dalriada, 122-3 referring to De Maccaib Conaire (LL 292a with different versions in BB 139b and in BL 103a) and the introduction to the Amra Choluim Chille in YBL and LB (ed. W. Stokes, Revue Celtique, 20 (1899), 423).

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PLOUGHGATE

The earliest known extant documentary reference to the ploughgate is found in a charter dated circa 1105 by which Thor the Long granted to the monks of Saint Cuthbert at Durham the church of Ednam (Roxburghshire) and one ploughgate of land.[1] During the period c.1100 - c.1400 the ploughgate is recorded in documentary material in its Latin form _carucata_, normally followed by _terre_ (land). _Carucata_ is derived from _caruca_, the Latin word for a plough and in its application to a measure of land the ploughgate is commonly defined as the amount of land a plough-team could handle in one year.[2] The typical plough-team had eight oxen and the ploughgate was divided into eight segments known as oxgangs.[3] The oxgang appears in twelfth to fourteenth-century documents in the Latin form _bovata_ (_terre_), derived from Latin _bós_, _bovis_, 'ox'.[4]

It is instructive at this point to consider the geographical distribution of the ploughgate and the

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1. _ESC_, no. 24.
2. J.H. Baxter and C. Johnson, _Medieval Latin Word List_ (London 1935), 67; Barrow, _Kingship and Unity_, 4; Duncan, _Kingdom_, 310.
3. The size of the plough-team is discussed below. See pp. 216-7.
4. C.T. Lewis and C. Short, _A Latin Dictionary_ (Oxford 1894), 247.

oxgang. The distribution maps of ploughgates and oxgangs represent those units, or fractions or multiples thereof, referred to in documentary sources of the period circa 1100 to circa 1400 whose location it has been possible to trace.[5] It has been impossible to be exact in plotting the units as the format of the documents does not allow for precision. During this period ploughgates and oxgangs were commonly described as being situated in a named territory. In December 1199 King William I granted to Robert, son of Maccus one ploughgate of land in the territory of Lessudden (St Boswells, Roxburghshire), 'unam carucatam terre in territorio de Lesedwin.'[6] Circa 1200 Aylmer Scott of Mow granted to Kelso Abbey one oxgang in the territory of Mow (in Morebattle, Roxburghshire).[7] Thus each dot on the map represents the territory rather than the exact location of a particular ploughgate or oxgang.

A study of the geographical distribution of the ploughgate reveals that it was found throughout the south-east of Scotland. Its distribution was particularly dense in Lothian and the Merse.

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5. See appendix viii for distribution map of ploughgates and appendix ix for distribution map of oxgangs.
6. RRS, ii, no. 422.
7. Kel. Lib., i, no. 169. Mow has been part of Morebattle parish since the seventeenth century. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Mow was an intensively populated and cultivated parish in which the abbeys of Kelso and Melrose held considerable property. RRS, ii, no. 245n.

Ploughgates are also found in some parts of the south-west, namely Dumfriesshire, Galloway, Kyle and Cunningham, although in these districts their distribution is much more sparse, especially in Galloway. The ploughgate is also a familiar unit in Menteith and it may be found in the lower reaches of the Lennox.[8] It is not found either in southern or in northern Argyll. In fact, north of the Forth its distribution is confined to the eastern part of the country. It is found in Fife, particularly in the east and north-east of the county and is also relatively common in Gowrie and Angus. There is very little trace of the ploughgate beyond these areas. There are a few references to ploughgates in Mearns, Mar and Moray but there is nothing to suggest that ploughgates were found north of Moray in the period before 1400.

North of the Forth ploughgates are interspersed with davachs, the most common unit of assessment in Scotia, and in many instances it would appear that the term ploughgate is merely being used to describe what was in fact a davach.[9] The term carucata is also used to describe units of land in the Lennox but this does not seem to be the typical ploughgate of south-east Scotland and, as was suggested above, probably represents no more than the application by scribes of

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8. For detailed discussion of the Lennox ploughgate see above pp. 180-3.
9. This theory is examined on pp. 223-30.

a term with which Anglo-Norman incomers were familiar to describe a native unit of land (the arachor).[10] Therefore, where the ploughgate overlapped with other units it is not always clear that the ploughgate as such was what was being represented by the Latin carucata. However, in the south-west, another fringe area which also knew other units of assessment, there is not much to suggest that the carucate was anything other than typical of the south-eastern ploughgate apart from the fact that, with the exception of Galloway (Wigtownshire) and Annandale, the oxgang is noticeably absent from all parts of the south-west. King Robert I confirmed to Richard MacCuffock for his homage and service eight oxgangs of the land of Kilsture and Claunch in the parish of Sorbie (Wigtownshire).[11] Circa 1218 Robert, son of William French quitclaimed to Sir Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale two oxgangs which he held of him in the territory of Annan in exchange for two oxgangs which William French, his father, formerly held of the said Sir Robert in the territory of Moffat.[12]

Where the ploughgate system did function one would expect to find references to oxgangs as it is

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10. See above pp. 182-3.
11. RMS, i, App. i, p. 478, no. 101.
12. CDS, i, no. 705.

unlikely that this system would be brought into operation without its subdivision, the oxgang.[13] This may suggest that the carucata of some parts of the south-west was merely a term used to describe a land unit in the area and that it should not be seen as indicative of the ploughgate-oxgang system so familiar in the south-east of Scotland. Certainly other units of assessment were found in those parts (davachs, quarters and pennylands in Galloway and pennylands in Carrick, Ayrshire and Lanarkshire).[14] And yet, there is nothing else to suggest that these south-western ploughgates differed from the ploughgates of the south-east and the explanation for the absence of the oxgang in most parts of the south-west may be quite simply that the evidence has not survived.

Not so in the Lennox, where the lack of references to the oxgang, taken in conjunction with the other peculiarities of the Lennox ploughgate, would seem to reinforce the theory that the Lennox ploughgates were not part and parcel of the ploughgate system of south-east Scotland. There is one reference to an oxgang

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13. In England the oxgang was much less widely known than the ploughgate. For instance, it had no place in East Anglia where men reckoned in ploughgates, half-ploughgates and acres. (Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 458). It has been suggested that throughout most of the British Isles the ploughgate was being adopted during the thirteenth century as a convenient description in districts where it had no historical place and that the oxgang rarely appears outside the true carucated area of Deira (J. Jolliffe, 'A Survey of Fiscal Tenements', EcHR, 6 (1935-36), 159). The origins of the ploughgate system are discussed below. See pp. 255-65.

14. These units are discussed in chapters three and four.

in Kirkintilloch. In 1226, King Alexander II confirmed to the church of St Mary of Cambuskenneth the resignation of William Comyn, Earl of Buchan of all right which he had in the church of Kirkintilloch to be held in free alms with all its chapels, lands etc. together with one oxgang of land adjoining the church land on the east side.[15] Kirkintilloch was originally a detached portion of Dunbartonshire and may have been regarded as part of the Lennox. However, even if Kirkintilloch was part of the Lennox it was situated at the very extremity of the district and therefore it seems extremely unlikely that the oxgang ever penetrated the territory of the Lennox in the strictest sense.

With the exception of these areas the distribution pattern of the oxgang closely resembles that of the ploughgate. It too is most dense in south-east Scotland, particularly in Lothian and the Merse. It is absent from the west highlands and islands and north of the Forth its distribution is again similar to that of the ploughgate although there are far fewer references to oxgangs than to ploughgates in Scotia. This makes sense if the theory that many of the ploughgates north of the Forth were in fact davachs is correct and where oxgangs do occur it is likely that in these instances the true ploughgate system had

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15. Camb. Reg., no. 133.

been introduced. In Scotia the oxgang is most common in Fife and it also appears in Gowrie, Angus, Mearns, Mar and Moray.

It was noted above that the ploughgate and the oxgang were units related to ploughing and therefore it is not surprising to learn that their distribution is confined to the best lands in those parts of the country where they are found. The fact that their distribution was particularly dense in Lothian and the Merse has already been mentioned and it is surely not co-incidental that these districts comprised some of the richest, most fertile farming lands of the whole country. In Fife both units are found in the coastal districts, again the best farming land in the county, and in the equally fertile inland district around Cupar. As the distribution pattern of the units is traced further north a distinct preference for the best soils is evident. Similarly, in the south-west the ploughgate is found in the richly fertile districts of Cunningham and Kyle. In Dumfriesshire ploughgates and oxgangs are centred on Annandale, the most fertile part of the district, while in Galloway, an overwhelmingly pastoral area, ploughgates and oxgangs are confined to the Machars, some of the best, low-lying land of the whole region.

The derivation of the ploughgate implies that it was a unit of agricultural capacity; its distribution indicates

that it was confined to the most fertile parts of the country, and there is no doubt that the ploughgate was in use as an agricultural unit between 1100 and 1400. It has already been noted that the ploughgate is commonly defined as the amount of land a plough-team could handle in one year.[16] This is normally recognised as an area of approximately 104 acres. The equation one ploughgate equals eight oxgangs equals 104 acres gained widespread acceptance among nineteenth-century historians although contemporary historians are now aware that there could be widespread variations in the size of a ploughgate.[17] The documentary evidence for the period c.1100 to c.1400 yields considerable support for the 104 acre ploughgate while also indicating that the size of the ploughgate could vary.

In 1152-3 Geoffrey de Percy granted to the church of St Mary at Kelso a ploughgate of land in Heton (Roxburghshire), consisting of 104 acres.[18] Robert, son of Reginald, of Great Reston (Berwickshire) quitclaimed to Coldingham land which he and his ancestors ought not to have had in the territory of the toun of Great Reston except one ploughgate,

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16. See above p. 197.
17. For the views of nineteenth-century historians see Skene, Celtic Scotland, iii, 224; Innes, Antiquities, 285. McKerral, writing in the 1940s was less convinced by this formula and concluded that the ploughgate began as a rough measure of land whose acreage, although standardised at 104 acres from the reign of David I, could vary (McKerral, 'Ancient Denominations', 48). Duncan believed the acreage of the ploughgate could range from 60-120 acres (Duncan, Kingdom, 313).
18. ESC, no. 251.

namely 105 acres.[19] King David I granted 52 acres of land (exactly half of a 104-acre ploughgate) to the canons of Holyrood c.1144.[20] Randolph de Soules granted to Newbattle Abbey one ploughgate and five acres in the toun of Gilmerton, namely 90 acres between two ways, the one which leads to Edinburgh, the other to 'Malevyn' (Melville) and another twenty acres towards the bounds of 'Wymet' (Woolmet, by Danderhall) and Lugton.[21] An inquest of the lands of Robert de Pinkeny held in 1296 found that he had ten ploughgates and 54 arable acres, each worth 21 pennies and £95 14s 2d in total. If each ploughgate had 104 acres the expected total would be £95 14s 6d, very close to the given total.[22] Thus there is considerable evidence equating one ploughgate with 104 acres.

Further evidence of this is found in smaller grants of acres and oxgangs. The oxgang, as one-eighth of the ploughgate, would comprise thirteen acres in the case of the 104-acre ploughgate. The rubric of a grant to Melrose Abbey of thirteen acres reads as follows: 'charter of Roger Burnard of one oxgang of land'.[23] Roger de Berkeley granted to Lindores Abbey one oxgang in exchange for nine acres and four acres.[24] Between

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19. ND, App., no. 389.
20. ESC, no. 160.
21. Newb. Reg., no. 38.
22. CDS, ii, no. 857.
23. Melr. Lib., i, no. 86.
24. Lind. Cart., no. 68.

1222 and 1240 Arbroath Abbey received a grant of two oxgangs in the territory of Catterline (Mearns), namely seven acres joined and confined to the land called Rath and nineteen acres nearby and adjoining the same seven acres.[25] At the beginning of the fourteenth century a grant was made of two oxgangs in the territory of Papple (East Lothian).[26] These oxgangs were made up of very small fractions of acres and roods which amounted to 26½ acres. There are also numerous grants of acres which make no reference to oxgangs or ploughgates but the fact that they are frequently in denominations of thirteen acres provides further support for the theory that the 104-acres ploughgate was common.[27]

There is substantial evidence that one ploughgate was composed of eight oxgangs. For example, c.1200 the church of St. Mary of Cambuskenneth was granted half a ploughgate of land in Dunipace (Stirlingshire), namely two oxgangs adjoining the land of the church on the east side and two oxgangs on the other side of the water near Lochbank.[28] A grant of half a ploughgate at 'Harcarse' (in Fogo, Berwickshire) comprised one oxgang at 'Farmacres', another at 'Strostrig', a third at 'Mordiches' and a fourth 'which Octer Carpenter held.'[29]

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25. Arb. Lib., i, no. 124.
26. Laing Chrs., no. 22.
27. St A. Lib., 269-70; Melr. Lib., i, nos. 49, 160; ESC., nos. 160, 235; ND, App. no. 180.
28. Camb. Reg., no. 79.
29. St A. Lib., 40.

As well as the evidence found in land grants there is also an official decree, which, if it can be accepted as authentic, would be attributable to the reign of David I. This ordained that the ploughgate should contain eight oxgangs and the oxgang thirteen acres.[30] It is difficult to estimate the importance and effect of this legislation which undoubtedly represents an attempt to standardise measurement. That it was not wholly effective is evident from an extent of the lands of Coldingham Priory c.1300.[31] The oxgangs of some touns such as Upper Ayton, Aldengrave, Coldingham and Oldcambus were defined as thirteen acres while those of Flemington and Lower Ayton had fourteen acres and others had only eight (Raynington) or ten acres (Edrom). This extent also gives many examples, with no exceptions, of ploughgates containing eight oxgangs. Thus the acreage of the ploughgate as recorded in the Coldingham rental could vary from 64 acres (Raynington) to 112 acres (Flemington and Lower Ayton). Variations in the size of ploughgates and their subdivisions are also evident elsewhere. In the early-thirteenth century Roger de Quincy granted 22 acres of land to Holyrood Abbey in exchange for one oxgang.[32] Was this an act of generosity on the part of de Quincy giving away 22 acres in return for thirteen or is this perhaps an example of an

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30. APS, i, 751.
31. Cold. Corr., App. p. lxxv-civ.
32. Holy. Lib., no. 63.

oxgang of considerably more than thirteen acres? Morgrund, earl of Mar gifted half a ploughgate of 80 acres in the toun of 'Inverme', to St. Andrews Priory.[33] Presumably each oxgang of this ploughgate was twenty acres. Although acres were granted in various quantities it is noticeable that denominations of twenty acres were reasonably frequent.[34] Thus a larger ploughgate of 160 acres was perhaps quite common.

Attempts to calculate the size of the ploughgate have produced a range of values, varying from 64 to 160 acres, rather than one specific acreage. Of course, since the ploughgate was reckoned as the amount of land which a ploughteam could deal with in one year, the cultivable land rather than that actually cultivated, its acreage would obviously vary. The amount of land a ploughteam could handle must have depended to a considerable extent upon the lie of the land and the quality of the soil as well as the weight and size of the oxen and the skills of the ploughteam. Nevertheless, the ploughgate of eight oxgangs, each consisting of thirteen acres, does seem to have been the norm although this must not be considered as anything but a nominal size.

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33. St A. Lib., 23⅖. Inverme represents Innermeath i.e. Mouth of the May Water in Perthshire between Dunning and Forgandenny. It is now called Invermay.
34. RRS, i, no. 308; ibid., ii, nos. 111, 333, 446; Dryb. Lib., no. 173; Dunf. Reg., no. 161; Kel. Lib., no. 160. These grants were found both north and south of the Forth.

Furthermore, ploughgates which were composed of 104 acres were not necessarily of equal size. The acre was essentially a rough measurement of the land that could be ploughed in a day's ploughing and its extent would also vary according to the nature of the soil and the composition of the ploughteam. Originally brought from the continent, the English acre was introduced to Scotland by the Anglo-Saxons.[35] Because the acre was initially related to ploughing it had a definite shape. It was four roods lying side by side; one rood equals one furlong (the optimum length, 220 yards, or 40 poles, for the ploughteam to plough one furrow without pause) by one pole (five and a half yards) which was the amount of room required by a team of oxen to turn round.[36] According to this calculation one acre equalled 4,840 square yards. But, the Scots acre became bigger than the English acre because, probably as early as the twelfth century, an attempt to secure uniformity in measurements led to the definition of the Scots ell (as opposed to the English yard) and the Scots fall (as opposed to the English pole). The ell was 37 times the length of the average thumb-nail, or the average length of three barley corns and was just over 37 inches.[37] The fall

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35. McKerral, 'Ancient Denominations', 46.
36. Ibid., 46.
37. APS, i, 673.

equalled six ells (eighteen and a half feet) whereas the English pole equalled sixteen and a half feet.[38] Thus, while the English acre was 40 poles times four poles, the Scottish acre was 40 falls times four falls and was approximately 25% larger than the English acre. However, the acre was in essence a day's ploughing and as such was far from being an accurately measured area.

The ploughgate, carucata terre, is also found in parts of England, namely the area known as the northern Danelaw - Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Nottingham-shire, Leicestershire and Rutland and in the four northernmost counties - Durham, Westmorland, Cumberland and Northumberland.[39] In many respects the English and Scottish ploughgates are similar. The English ploughgate, like the Scottish, is divided into eight segments commonly known as bovates or oxgangs and it is also defined as the amount of land a plough-team could handle in one year. Close parallels may also be drawn as regards the size of the ploughgate in the two countries. Although evidence regarding the size of the English ploughgate is not plentiful the Boldon Book, which presents a picture of the social and economic conditions of the bishopric of Durham towards the end of the twelfth century, gives some indication as to their acreage. In the Boldon Book

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38. Ibid., i, 751.
39. H.C. Darby, Domesday Geography (Cambridge 1977), 10-11.

holdings were generally expressed in terms of bovates which normally contained fifteen acres. In Shotton the smith held one bovate of fifteen acres; in Tursdale there were 24 bovates, each of fifteen acres; in Whickham there were 30 villeins, each holding one bovate of fifteen acres and in Boldon every villein had two bovates of fifteen acres each.[40] Since eight bovates comprised one ploughgate 120 acres was obviously a fairly common size for a ploughgate. In Farnacres, Eudo de Lucelles held one ploughgate of 120 acres.[41]

As in Scotland not all bovates were the same size. In Morton the bovate contained twelve acres and in Whitworth and New Richnall twenty acres.[42] The twenty-acre bovate also occurs frequently in a collection of twelfth-century charters relating to Lincolnshire.[43] References to large and small ploughgates and bovates provide a further indication that their size was not uniform. Agnes, wife of Herbert, son of Adelard was given a small carucate in South Ferriby as part of her dower.[44] In the twelfth century Oliver of Wendover gave to Catley Priory half a ploughgate in Glentworth 'de minoribus bovetis'.[45] A charter to

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40. VCH, Durham, ed. W. Page (London 1905), i, 329, 335, 295.
41. Ibid., 336.
42. Ibid., 329, 335, 338.
43. Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw, ed. F.M. Stenton (British Academy, Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales, London 1920), vol. v, p. xxviii.
44. Ibid., no. 27.
45. F.M. Stenton, Transcripts of Charters Relating to the Gilbertine Houses of Sixle, Ormsby, Catley, Bullington and Alvingham (Lincoln Record Society, Homcastle 1922), Catley, no. 18.

Lincoln Cathedral dated shortly before 1200 refers to a bovate and a half in Owmby by Spittal, 'que sunt de magnis bovatis, que magna bovata et dimidia faciunt tres bovatas parvas'.[46]

Thus it would appear that in England as in Scotland a ploughgate of a standard number of acres was common but was by no means absolute. The apparent discrepancy between the size of the Scottish and the English ploughgate is explicable by the fact that the Scottish acre was approximately 25% larger than its English counterpart. Therefore the 104-acre ploughgate, which was the norm in Scotland, was a unit very close in size to the standard English ploughgate of 120 acres. This may also be compared with the size of the hide of the Domesday period and beyond.[47] The hide is found primarily in the south of England although it extends considerably far north on the western side of the country. It is found in Wessex, Essex, the south Danelaw and Mercia.[48] In the Domesday period a hide of

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46. Stenton, Danelaw Charters, xxviii.
47. The pre-Domesday hide may have been much smaller. The Tribal Hidage ascribes approximately 240,000 hides to the whole of England south of the Humber which suggests that the hide of this period was something different to that of the Domesday period which did not allow the whole of England 70,000 hides (carucates, sulungs). This may indicate that the hides of the Tribal Hidage are tenements in the region of 30 acres rather than 120. (Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 457). Incidentally 30 acres (or 26 Scots acres) was the common size of the holding of a villein or husbandman in the early medieval period and since the hide originally was thought to represent the amount of land necessary to support one household a unit of 30 acres seems quite feasible.
48. Darby, Domesday England, 10-11.

120 acres was common in Cambridgeshire although whether the hide was reckoned in the same way elsewhere is uncertain.[49]

By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it would appear that the hide had become standardised at 120 acres. The Domesday of St. Paul's, a register of a visitation, made in 1222, of the manors belonging to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, London records that in Thorp, one of the manors in Essex, the hide contained 120 acres.[50] It also contains a statement that in Tillingham, also in Essex, 30 acres equals one virgate and 120 acres equals one hide.[51] According to a series of entries in the Hundred Rolls of Edward I relating to Huntingdonshire the number of acres in a virgate was normally 30 and the number of virgates in a hide was normally four.[52] A study of the Winslow Manor Rolls of Edward III indicated that the normal area of a virgate was 30 acres and that four virgates equalled one hide.[53] Thus in terms of acreage the ploughgate of Scotland and of England and the English hide conformed to a uniform size and although the acreage of the three

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49. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 552; R. Welldon-Finn, An Introduction to Domesday Book (London 1963), 104; J.H. Round, Feudal England (London 1895), 47. It has been suggested that the normal hide of central Wessex was much smaller. F.M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (3rd edition, Oxford 1971), 279.
50. F. Seebohm, English Village Community (London 1884), 53.
51. Ibid., 54.
52. Ibid., 36.
53. Ibid., 29.

was variable and far from being universally exact the fact that the norm of all three was identical perhaps suggests that a unit of 104 Scots acres or 120 English acres was by far the most workable in terms of the plough.

The commonest size of holding was two oxgangs, known as a husbandland or the land of a husbandman. In 1333 Alexander Purves granted to Dryburgh Abbey the land of one husbandman in the territory of 'Ercildoun' (now Earlston, Berwickshire), namely one oxgang in Whitefield and one oxgang in Broomside.[54] That the husbandland was a well-established unit at a much earlier date is evident from William I's confirmation charter in the 1160s of the property of Jedburgh Abbey which included several holdings of two oxgangs although they were not described as husbandlands at this point.[55] By 1300 the husband-land appears as a well-understood measurement often requiring no explanation except perhaps when it deviated from the norm as in the case of Selkirk Abbatis where its size was given as one oxgang.[56]

That each husbandman in Redden (Roxburghshire) received with his land ploughing stock of two oxen is further proof that the husbandlandland was normally

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54. Dryb. Lib., no. 308.
55. RRS., ii, no. 62. These were two oxgangs and another two oxgangs in Crailing; two oxgangs in Scraesburgh (alias Hunthill); two oxgangs in Lanton; two oxgangs lying by the church of Oxnam. Further early references to holdings of two oxgangs may be found in land grants to other religious houses e.g. Holyrood and Kelso (Holy. Lib., nos. 1, 2; RRS, ii, no. 130).
56. See the extent of Kelso Abbey made circa 1300. Kel. Lib., ii, 455-63.

composed of two oxgangs, each of which would be required to provide one ox in the service of the plough.[57] Also, in 1327, one document records that one ploughgate at Priestfield was in the tenure of four husbandmen, each obviously holding two oxgangs.[58] This may be compared with two ploughgates in the territory of Pennersax (Middlebie, Dumfriesshire) which were recorded as being held by eight tenants.[59]

The husbandland compares with the English virgate virgata (Latin), 'yard-land', which was equal to one quarter of a hide and normally comprised 30 acres.[60] Like the husbandland in Scotland the virgate was obviously so well known as to need no description of its contents although on occasion its acreage is recorded. Gloucester Cartulary contains several extents of manors in the west of England c.1266 which reveal that the acreage of the virgate could vary. Figures recorded range from 28 to 48 acres.[61] Although the term virgate was not commonly used in the carucated district of England the actual holding was familiar; usually expressed in terms of oxgangs.[62] In Boldon (Durham) at the end of the twelfth century 22 villeins each held two oxgangs of 30 acres.[63]

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57. Kel. Lib., ii, 456.
58. Ibid., no. 471.
59. Fraser, Annandale, i, no. 3.
60. Seebohm, English Village Community, 23, 27; Vinogradoff, Villainage in England, 238.
61. Seebohm, English Village Community, 55.
62. The term husbandland was also found north of the Tees. Ibid., 60.
63. Boldon Book, Surtees Society, 25 (1852), 45.

It is likely that the ploughgate of eight oxgangs was worked by a plough-team of eight oxen, presumably each oxgang being required to provide one ox. Evidence for the size of ploughteams is scarce but grants to Kelso Abbey c.1170 of a ploughgate with pasture for eight oxen and to Dryburgh Abbey c.1162 of half a ploughgate with pasture for four oxen imply that, in these instances at least, the plough-team was made up of eight oxen.[64] In England, certainly in the carucated regions, a plough-team of eight oxen was the norm.[65] Elsewhere, in some of the hidated counties, it is possible that the number of oxen in a plough-team was variable.[66] It has been claimed that the theory of a variable plough-team would reduce to an absurdity the practice of stating the capacity of the land in terms of teams and oxen that can plough it.[67] But a variable number of oxen would surely be capable of ploughing the same quantity of land, particularly if local differences of soil and terrain are taken into consideration as well as other factors such as the strength of the oxen

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64. Kel. Lib., i, no. 74; Dryb. Lib., no. 201.
65. R. Lennard, 'The Composition of the Domesday Caruca', EHR, 81 (1966), 775.
66. Lennard claimed that the plough-team sometimes represented six or four oxen in parts of the south-west (R. Lennard, 'Domesday Plough-Teams: the South-Western Evidence', EHR, 60 (1945), 231). However, H.P.R. Finberg examined all the relevant entries in the Domesday relating to the largest of the three counties involved in Lennard's arguments, namely Devonshire, and concluded that full teams of eight oxen and half teams of four were the two standard units recognised in the south-west and employed throughout the survey. H.P.R. Finberg, 'The Domesday Plough-Team', EHR, 66 (1951), 67, 70.
67. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 478-9.

and the skills of the ploughteam. Therefore, it seems most likely that an eight-ox team was the norm but that this figure could vary.

It is possible to conclude from the evidence that the ploughgate was a unit of arable land. Of course, the term ploughgate itself implies this as the plough is only necessary where there is arable land. This is also indicated by numerous references to carucata terre, terre referring to arable land.[68] Occasionally the word arable was actually used as in King David I's grant to the church of Dunfermline of 'unam carrucatam terrae arabilis in Cragmilor' (Craigmillar, Edinburgh).[69] A royal confirmation was made to Arbroath Abbey, probably in 1213, of 'una carrucata in Kelalchmund (Kennethmont, Aberdeenshire) mensurata et arabili cum communi pastura'.[70]

Ploughgates were frequently granted with moors and meadow and common pasture for various quantities and types of animal; a further indication that the ploughgate itself was a measure of arable. Pastureland was commonly defined in terms of the number of animals it could support. As already noted, a grant of one ploughgate normally provided pasture for eight oxen although there are exceptions.[71] For instance, Robert de Berkeley granted one ploughgate in the territory of Maxton (Roxburghshire) with common

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68. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 450n.
69. Dryb. Lib., no. 66.
70. RRS, ii, no. 512.
71. See above p. 216.

pasture for twelve oxen to Melrose Abbey and a grant to Dryburgh Abbey from the Earl of Dunbar of two oxgangs in Earlston (Berwickshire) carried with it common pasture also for twelve oxen.[72] The pastureland which accompanied a ploughgate must have been considerable because, as well as oxen, provision was made for sheep, cows, bulls, horses and pigs. A grant of Walter, son of Philip of Lundin to Cambuskenneth Abbey of four oxgangs in the toun of Balcormo (in Largo, Fife) provided common pasture for 500 sheep, twenty cows, one ploughteam of oxen and for horses.[73] Robert de Berkeley's grant to Melrose provided for 100 sheep, six cows, three horses and one sow as well as the twelve oxen mentioned above.[74]

Further evidence as to the arable nature of the ploughgate is contained in the frequent references to mills which are only necessary where there is grain. Grants of ploughgates could be accompanied by mills. Morgrund, earl of Mar granted to St. Andrews Cathedral Priory the church of Tarland (Aberdeenshire) with a ploughgate of land and a mill.[75]

It is common to find a grantor of a ploughgate or oxgang also granting liberty to build a mill, presumably

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72. Melr. Lib., i, no. 90; Dryb. Lib., no. 300.
73. RRS, ii, no. 373.
74. Melr. Lib., i, no. 90.
75. RRS, ii, no. 129. Earl Morgrund's charter is given in St A. Lib., 246-7 (1165 x 1172), giving the name of the ploughgate as Hachadgonan (read Hachadgouan, 'smith's field'), now lost.

to serve the ploughgate. Holyrood Abbey received one ploughgate in the territory of Dalgarnock (in Closeburn, Dumfriesshire) with permission to build and keep a mill.[76] When William, son of Bernard granted to Arbroath Abbey two oxgangs in the territory of Catterline (Mearns) he also gave the monks permission to build a mill there.[77] It is also common to find ploughgates granted free from multure, a due payable in return for the use of the facilities of a mill, somewhat unnecessary if a ploughgate was pasture-land. John Avenel, son of Gervase Avenel, granted two oxgangs to Inchcolm Abbey with free multure and the right to grind their grain first after the over-lord.[78]

A grant by David Oliphard to Soutra Hospital of one thrave of corn from each ploughgate in his lordship is a further indication that the ploughgate was under cultivation.[79] This is clearly illustrated by a grant to Coldingham Priory of half a ploughgate in the haughs of Jarford (by the Tweed at Paxton), namely two oxgangs under wheat and two oxgangs under oats. This is perhaps an early indication of two-crop rotation.[80]

There is as yet no evidence which suggests that the ploughgate or oxgang ever functioned as units of

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76. RRS, ii, no. 492.
77. Arb. Lib., i, no. 67.
78. Inchcolm Chrs., no. 38.
79. NLS MS Adv. 35.2.4. f.13 (Macfarlane's Collections).
80. ND, App., no. 357.

pasture. This is not the case with the acre which was evidently used as a measure of arable or of pasture. Grants of acres were frequently recorded as x acres of arable land and y acres of pasture. Circa 1240 Gilbert, Bishop of Whithorn confirmed to Dryburgh Abbey six acres of arable and one acre of pasture.[81] A further grant to Dryburgh of eight acres of land comprised four acres of arable and four acres of pasture.[82] King William I confirmed a grant by the earls of Dunbar to Melrose Abbey which included five acres on the south side of 'Mosiburnerig' (presumably above the Mossy burn, partly in Spott and partly in Stenton parishes, East Lothian) so that the monks may enclose them with a ditch to make a sheep-fold for the flocks.[83] In this instance the acre was clearly pasture-land.

South-east Scotland, the area where the ploughgate predominated, was an area of open-field farming. The pattern of settlement reflected nucleated village communities surrounded by their arable land in large open tracts divided into ridges or rigs, seldom referred to as such in documents of the period 1100-1400, where they were more commonly called acres. During this period land in the south-east was described as acres, oxgangs or ploughgates lying in the territory (field) of x in the toun of y. Fields could also be divided

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81. Dryb. Lib., no. 66.
82. Ibid., no. 185.
83. RRS, ii, no. 386.

into furlongs and the furlong occasionally appears, always in its Latin form, cultura. A grant to the priory of Coldstream of twelve acres was described as seven acres in one cultura and five acres in another.[84] Furlongs were commonly named. Dryburgh Abbey was granted one acre of arable in the cultura called Alriches and Duncan of Swainston granted to Soutra 23 acres, twenty in one cultura called 'Medelflat' and three nearby.[85]

By the twelfth century ploughgate and oxgang were essentially abstract concepts functioning alongside the visible physical units of field, furlong and rig.[86] The concept of an abstract ploughgate is clearly illustrated in a mid-twelfth century confirmation by Malcolm IV of David I's grant to Kelso Abbey of half a ploughgate in Selkirk which in King David's time lay dispersed throughout the field. As this was not very useful to the abbey King Malcolm granted in exchange the same quantity of arable lying all in one piece.[87] Originally the ploughgate and oxgang were probably as tangible and concrete as field and acre and there are one or two isolated examples of ploughgates which were visible, physical units in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These may represent a survival from earlier times or they may have acquired a physical

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84. Cold. Cart., no. 21.
85. Dryb. Lib., no. 174; NLS MS Adv. 35.2.4. ff 15-16 (Macfarlane's Collections).
86. Barrow, Kingdom, 264.
87. RRS, i, no. 187.

reality because the acres of which they were composed had been treated collectively for so long as in the case of the consolidated half ploughgate in Selkirk referred to above.[88] Newbattle Abbey received half a ploughgate perambulated and marked out by stones as well as by an existing stone cross, ditch, highway and stream.[89] Significantly this land, which was evidently consolidated, was not described as lying in the territory of a village (that is, scattered among the present rigs) but as in the donor's fief of West Fortune (East Lothian).[90]

However, the normal pattern in the south-east was undoubtedly one of holdings of abstract ploughgates and oxgangs composed of rigs or acres scattered throughout the fields. This is well-illustrated by a fourteenth century grant by one layman to another of two oxgangs in the territory of Pepple (East Lothian), namely:

> '... three acres and a half rood of land in the crofts near those four acres which Gilbert also held of the grantor; two acres near the croft of the nuns of St Bothans towards the east; one acre and a half rood upon the 'deluys' near Reveden towards the west; one acre three roods upon 'Hulekoues' near the 'deluys' towards the west; two acres upon 'Essochskyslwe'; one and a half acres in 'le setelys' upon the 'deluys'; half an acre in 'Sedleshope'; one and a half acres under the 'deluys' in

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88. Ibid., i, no. 187.
89. Newb. Reg., no. 107.
90. Ibid., no. 107; Duncan, Kingdom, 314.

> 'Sedleshope'; two and a half acres on 'Fotirkoul'; half an acre towards the east of the meadow; half an acre towards the west of the meadow; one rood near the meadow towards the east of 'Swynhirdeswell'; four acres towards the west of 'Revedenespeth' near 'Lyntlawsmere'; one acre which belonged to Robert Drieff; two acres at 'Seggywellisheuid'; one acre under 'Lintlawe'; half an acre and half a rood upon 'le butthis' of Lintlaw; and one and a half roods towards the south of 'le butthis'. [91]

North of the Forth this pattern changed. The large nucleated village of the south-east gave way to the township or small hamlet. Large fields also disappeared and small compact holdings of arable predominated, undoubtedly suited to a dispersed form of settlement. However, it is dangerous to accept too completely the notion of a highland/lowland zone as there was some degree of local variation. It has been suggested, and supported by a considerable quantity of evidence, that in the flatter and lower-lying parts of Scotland north of the Forth, especially in Fife and the Carse of Gowrie, the arable of any particular settlement might lie more or less in one piece and be cultivated in rigs and acres.[92] However, in general the situation differed from that found in the south-east of the country and it would appear that the plough-gate north of the Forth was not always the same as the

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91. Laing Chrs., no. 22. These figures total 26½ acres which is very close to the equation one oxgang equals thirteen acres. 'Deluys' - cultivated and probably spade-dug, land; cf. Duncan, Kingdom, 327.
92. Barrow, Kingdom, 263; St A. Lib., 420-1; RRS, ii, no. 469; Arb. Lib., no. 124.

the ploughgate of the south-east.

One striking difference between ploughgates north and south of the Forth is that north of the Forth they were generally named, for example, one ploughgate in Naughton (Balmerino, Fife) named 'Melchrethre'; the half-ploughgate called Dargie (Invergowrie) whereas in the south this proved the exception rather than the rule.[93] There are only two known examples of south-country ploughgates which were named: one ploughgate on the Peffer Burn called 'Porhoy' (Prora in Athelstaneford, East Lothian) and a half-ploughgate called Southrig (South Hailes, East Lothian).[94] The absence of names supports the claim made above that in the south-east the ploughgate was an abstract rather than a concrete unit. Conversely, since north of the Forth ploughgates are often named there is a strong likelihood that in this zone they are not abstract units made up of scattered rigs but compact pieces of arable.[95] This is complemented by the fact that north-country ploughgates and oxgangs frequently had fixed bounds.[96] A late-twelfth

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93. St A. Lib., 196; RRS, i, no. 251.
94. Newb. Reg., nos. 69, 77. The latter may possibly have been a furlong rated at half a ploughgate.
95. Two measured ploughgates of land in Kennethmont (Aberdeenshire) formed what was later known as the land of Ardlair. Therefore, they were not dispersed over the territory of Kennethmont but formed a compact block close to the bishop's lands of Clatt. Abdn. Reg., i, 9-10, 13-14, 218.
96. St A. Lib., 239.

century grant of one oxgang in the toun of Newtyle (Angus) was made to Lindores Abbey.[97] A later grant of an acre below that oxgang indicates that the oxgang was composed of acres lying together rather than scattered rigs.[98] A grant to Arbroath Abbey of two bovates in Mearns was composed of seven acres joined and confined to the land called Rath and nineteen acres nearby and adjoining the same seven acres.[99]

It is interesting to note that the formula adopted in grants of ploughgates north and south of the Forth differed. In general the formula south of the Forth is one ploughgate in the territory of x in the toun of y while north of the Forth it is one ploughgate named x.[100] Thus there are various indications the ploughgate north of the Forth was not necessarily the same entity as the ploughgate south of the Forth.

South of the Forth the ploughgate was the major land unit whereas north of the Forth it took second place to the davach. It is noteworthy that on every point of difference between the northern and southern ploughgate the northern ploughgate is in complete accord with the davach. Ploughgates north of the Forth were named: davachs were almost always named.[101] Plough-gates in the south were abstract units made up of scattered

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97. Lind. Cart., no. 37.
98. Ibid., no. 39.
99. Arb. Lib., i, no. 124.
100. Melr. Lib., i, nos. 90, 233; Pais. Req., 75; RRS, ii, no. 333; ibid., i, nos. 251, 228.
101. For example see above p. 224.

rigs; north-country ploughgates appear to be compact pieces of arable. Davachs too were compact units with a physical identity.[102] Furthermore, the formula adopted in grants of northern ploughgates is paralleled in the formula found in grants of davachs.[103]

In the light of the differences between north and south-country ploughgates and the similarities between ploughgates north of the Forth and davachs it does not seem rash to suggest that north-country ploughgates were in fact davachs by another name.[104] This would explain the increasing use of the term davach in documentary sources of the period between c.1100 and c.1400.[105] Presumably incoming landowners and their clerks were initially reluctant to adopt native terms such as davach particularly in Latin documents and so used the term with which they themselves were familiar, carucata, which seemed to convey the same concept although it was not necessarily the same unit. As they became accustomed to the term davach they would gradually begin to adopt it and use it in land grants. That some clerks were aware of a difference between ploughgates north and south of the Forth is evident from references to 'Scottish

102. This is discussed above. See pp. 66-7.
103. Arb. Lib., i, no. 74 (bis); Moray Reg., no. 74; A.B. Coll., 618. In one instance the south-country formula is applied to a grant of davachs in Angus. These two davachs were described as being situated in the territory of Lintrathen. However, it is combined with the northern formula as the davachs were named (Clintlaw and Balcashy). C.A. Chrs., i, no. 55.
104. Barrow, Kingdom, 266. A parallel may be found in the Lennox where it would appear that the term carucata was applied to the arachor although it did not necessarily represent the use of the south-country ploughgate in this area.
105. See above pp. 94-5.

ploughgates'. Between c.1171 and 1174 King William II confirmed to Robert of Newham the whole of Cambo (Kingsbarns, Fife) for which he was liable to perform forinsec service for half a Scottish ploughgate of land, 'pro dimidia carrucata terre Scotica'.[106] In 1205 John Waleram received various lands in Kingsbarns and Crail (Fife) from King William I and he was also liable for as much forinsec service as pertains to half a Scottish ploughgate in Crail-shire, 'quantum pertinet ad dimidiam carrucatam terre scotticam in Karelis-schire'.[107] It may be that the 'Scottish ploughgate' represented no more than the clerk's attempt to avoid the use of the word davach.[108]

A further difference between ploughgates north and south of the Forth is found in the endowments of churches. Churches south of the Forth were normally endowed with one ploughgate.[109] North of the Forth church endowments were most frequently recorded in terms of the davach, the common endowment being half a davach.[110] It seems likely that the davach was identifiable with two ploughgates in which case churches were equally well

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106. RRS, ii, no. 131. Robert of Newham was a Northumbrian landowner, taking his name from Newham (West, Mid and East Newham) in Belsay, Northumberland. 'Scottish' in texts of this date means pertaining to Gaelic-speaking Scotia, i.e. north of the Forth.
107. Ibid., no. 469. It is perhaps significant that both charters relate to Crail-shire. The parishes of Kingsbarns, Crail and Carnbee appear to have been extensively settled by royal servants and minor officers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.
108. Two further grants of land in Carnbee (Fife) at the end of the twelfth century (RRS, ii, nos. 286, 402) in return for forinsec service due from a half-ploughgate of land in Kellie-shire (Fife) may also represent the substitution of the native davach by the ploughgate. Kellie-shire seems to have been identical with the later parish of Carnbee.
109. For examples see above p. 58.
110. For examples see above p. 58.

endowed on both sides of the Forth. When church endowments north of the Forth were recorded in terms of the ploughgate it is somewhat significant that the majority were endowed with half a ploughgate. The church of Kilrenny (Fife) was endowed with half a ploughgate of land in Pitcorthie (in Kilrenny, Fife); the church of Longforgan (Carse of Gowrie) was endowed with half a ploughgate called Kingoodie (in Longforgan), and the church of Invergowrie was endowed with half a ploughgate lying on the west side of the church, called Dargie.[111] Noticeably the Longforgan and Invergowrie ploughgates are named; further proof of the likelihood that they were in fact davachs.

It is unlikely that churches endowed with ploughgates north of the Forth were less well endowed than churches in the south or than their northern neighbours whose endowment was recorded in terms of the davach and the likeliest explanation again seems to be that the ploughgate north of the Forth was simply the davach by another name. If so church endowment north and south of the Forth, whether

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111. RRS, ii, no. 89; ibid., i, nos. 122, 123, 251. There were exceptions. The churches of Dairsie (Fife) and Tarland (Aberdeenshire) were both endowed with one ploughgate. (St A. Lib., 128, 246-7). Whether these represented actual ploughgates is uncertain. The fact that the Tarland ploughgate was named (Hachadgonan, read Hachadgouan, 'smith's field', now lost) may indicate that this merely represented the substitution of the term ploughgate for davach, the apparent discrepancy reflecting no more than a particularly generous endowment. There are examples of churches being endowed with a whole davach. See above p. 58.

in ploughgates or davachs, would be equal.

Another indication that the term ploughgate was merely a substitution for davach may be found in a grant of half a ploughgate in Balcormo (Fife) with pasture for one plough of oxen.[112] Pasture for one plough of oxen was the normal accompaniment of a whole ploughgate in Scotland south of the Forth where the half ploughgate carried with it grazing for four oxen, that is half a ploughteam.[113] Given that the davach was the equivalent of two south-country ploughgates presumably two plough-teams were needed to serve the davach. The half-ploughgate of Balcormo may well have been a half-davach which would explain the provision of pasture for a full plough-team.

An analysis of the dating of charters containing the term ploughgate provides further support for the hypothesis that north of the Forth the ploughgate was simply the davach by another name. It has already been noted that documentary references to davachs became increasingly frequent between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.[114] If the supposition that this represented an increased use of the term as it became familiar to clerks rather than the development and spreading of the land unit itself is correct conversely a decline in the number of

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112. Camb. Reg., no. 25.
113. Kel. Lib., i, no. 74; Dryb. Lib., no. 201.
114. See above pp. 94-5.

documentary references to ploughgates in this period should be evident.[115] This is exactly what happens. An examination of the documentary evidence reveals a decrease of over 50% in the number of references to north-country ploughgates between 1200 and 1300 and a similar rate of decline from 1300 to 1400. There was no such decrease in references to ploughgates south of the Forth. Therefore, it does seem clear that ploughgates north of the Forth were different from south-country ploughgates and were in fact none other than the davach, a term which was temporarily replaced until incomers became familiar with native terms and confident enough to use them in record material. Indeed, there is at least one example of terminology changing. Between 1172 and 1174 King William I confirmed to John the hermit half a ploughgate of Duldeuach (now Culdoich, in Croy and Dalcross, Invernesshire) and two generations later Daldeuach appears as a half-davach.[116] That Duldeuach was originally assessed in terms of the davach is evident from the place name.

However, it would be rash to overstate this argument. It has already been pointed out that the differences between the layout of the land north and south of the Forth should not be exaggerated.[117] Some grants north

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115. For reasons why the davach was not something new in the twelfth century see above pp. 94-5.
116. RRS, ii, no. 142; Moray Reg., no. 31.
117. Barrow, Kingdom, 257-8, 263.

of the Forth clearly indicate rigs in a large open territory of arable. A charter of 1284 refers to a ditch between the meadow and the arable land of the village of Markinch (Fife).[118] There is an instance of ten acres in the field of an Angus village,- Kinblethmont.[119] Thus some north-country ploughgates must surely have closely resembled their southern counterparts and represented the spread of an open-field system of farming beyond the Forth accompanied by the development of new arable to link up the consolidated holdings of the davach, somewhat necessary in a period of rising population and increasing pressure on the land.[120] It is possible that from the twelfth century onwards newly assessed land in Scotia was measured in ploughgates perhaps in an attempt to secure uniformity in the system of land assessment. Between 1183 and 1188 King William I granted to Arbroath Abbey one ploughgate of arable in Mondynes (in Fordoun, Mearns) on the Bervie Water, measured at his command by William de Montfort, Humphrey of Berkeley, Walter Scott and Alan, son of Simon.[121] This has the appearance

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118. St A, Lib., 420-1.
119. Arb, Lib., i, no. 143.
120. This view has been stressed by A.A.M. Duncan who gives a convincing example of land at Errol in the Carse of Gourie which was reclaimed and measured in ploughgate and oxgang and which belonged to an immigrant family and colonising monks. The area of cultivated land was increasing at the expense of 'waste' until the late-thirteenth century and according to Duncan this breaking out of new land was particularly active from the last quarter of the twelfth century until the third quarter of the thirteenth. Duncan, Kingdom, 320-1, 366.
121. RRS, ii, no. 277. See also RRS, i, no. 266.

of a holding newly carved out.

Certainly the appearance of both ploughgate and davach in a grant of 1235 to Scone Abbey indicates that the term carucata was not always used merely as a substitution for the davach. This document records that Scone Abbey had its assessment reduced from six to five davachs because two and a half ploughgates had been taken away from its estates there.[122] If the ploughgate was used as the direct equivalent of the davach the canons of Scone were treated rather harshly but if the ploughgate was being used in the sense of a south-country ploughgate, that is the equivalent of half a davach, they were being given a fairer deal.[123] It may be that the ploughgate assessment was relatively new in the area and closely linked to the agricultural realities of the period, while the davach, presumably representing a much older assessment, may have become confined to a role which was entirely fiscal. In those estates in Scotia where both terms are recorded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the use of the davach is normally restricted to fiscal purposes. At the end of the twelfth century Philip of Lundin granted half a ploughgate of land of Balcormo (Fife) to Cambuskenneth Abbey and in 1270 it was recorded at an inquest made at Abernethy that

Scottish service was rendered for one and a half davachs

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122. Scone Liber, no. 67.
123. For relationship of davach and ploughgate see above pp. 53-8.

of Balcormo.[124] Between 1189 and c.1193 King William I granted to Humphrey son of Theobald (de Addeville) four ploughgates of land in Conveth and in the mid-thirteenth century St Andrews Priory received lands in Conveth (Mearns) from Roger Wyrfauk in return for the forinsec service which pertained to half a davach.[125]

This may be compared with the tendency of the Domesday Survey to use the word hide as the ancient unit of assessment while the actual extent of the manors was described in carucates. In the Inquisitio Eliensis the Huntingdonshire manors of the abbey are described as containing so many hides 'ad geldum' and so many carucates 'ad arandum', thus exactly explaining the use of the terms.[126]

Where oxgangs and ploughgates are found in conjunction in Scotland north of the Forth there is perhaps a greater likelihood that a true ploughgate system was in operation and whereas, as has been noted above, references to ploughgates in Scotia declined in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (presumably as the davach became accepted and began to be used again) there was no such decline in the number of

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124. Camb. Reg., no. 25; APS, i, 102.
125. RRS, ii, no. 345; St A. Lib., 335. Roger Wyrfauk received his lands in Conveth from Richenda, daughter and heiress of Humphrey son of Theobald (who took the surname de Berkeley on marrying Agatha the heir of Walter of Berkeley, the chamberlain). St A. Lib., 285-6.
126. Seebohm, English Village Community, 84.

references to oxgangs.[127] Instead references to oxgangs were as numerous in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as they had been in the twelfth. Thus, only to some extent did the word ploughgate (carucata) serve as the equivalent of the davach. In many cases it must have represented the spread of the system of land assessment based on the plough which was already so familiar in south-east Scotland.

There is nothing in the documents to indicate whether ploughgates in the south-east of the country were grouped in larger territorial units. It has been suggested that shires in this area were rated at 48 ploughgates but this is not confirmed by the records; nor do they suggest any alternative territorial grouping.[128] Between c.1100 and c.1400 the commonest grant was of one ploughgate; half ploughgates and quarter-ploughgates also occur fairly often in land grants although it is only in the Lennox that the term quarter-ploughgate is used. Elsewhere the quarter-ploughgate is invariably recorded in terms of oxgangs, that is two oxgangs. This may be further evidence that the ploughgate-system as such was not in operation in the Lennox.[129] Grants of one

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127. A grant to Arbroath Abbey c.1206 of two oxgangs assumed the formula common to grants of ploughgates and oxgangs south of the Forth. (Arb. Lib., i, no. 67). In the Lennox, where the use of the ploughgate system has also been questioned, the lack of references to oxgangs is noteworthy.
128. E.W. Robertson, Historical Essays (Edinburgh 1872), 128. According to R.A. Dodgshon, '...there would seem to be no secure grounds on which to argue for an ordered scheme of territorial assessment'. Dodgshon, Land and Society, 83.
129. For a discussion of this theory see above pp. 180-83.

oxgang, that is one-eighth of a ploughgate, were also quite common. There is only one reference to one-third of a ploughgate, presumably because this was not a natural subdivision of a unit which was normally divided into eight.[130] Grants of more than two ploughgates were rare and were, in fact, commoner in Scotia, where there were far fewer references to ploughgates in general than in Scotland south of the Forth.

There is some evidence which may suggest that in Scotia ploughgates were grouped in threes and sixes.[131] This is particularly evident in Alexander I's grant to Scone Abbey of lands in the neighbourhood of Scone. A total of 36 ploughgates were granted (perhaps originally six units, each of six ploughgates), 50% of which were described in multiples of three or six.[132] However, what seems more likely is that these ploughgates were in fact davachs. It has been noted already that a large territorial grouping of six davachs was common both in the north-east and the west highlands and islands and these Scone ploughgates may be compared with the six-davach grouping of Blairgowrie (in the same vicinity), also granted to Scone.[133] Perhaps further research

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130. In 1332 Adam Melville, burgess of Linlithgow and Elizabeth, his wife, granted to John Renton, burgess of Berwick one-third of a ploughgate in Upper Lamberton, north of Berwick. SRO GD 52/1031..
131. In the carucated districts of England assessment by sixes, threes and twelves was prevalent. See above pp. 157-8.
132. RRS, i, no. 243.
133. Scone Liber, no. 67. For six-davach groupings see above pp. 71-2 and 151-2. A further example of the use of the term ploughgate to describe the davach in the Scone area probably occurs in Malcolm IV's confirmation to Scone Abbey of the church of Invergowrie with half a ploughgate of land called Dargie as in this instance the size of the endowment and the naming of the unit are typical of the davach rather than the plough-gate (RRS, i, no. 251).

will yield some results but at present it is not possible to argue for a larger territorial unit based on the ploughgate.

Land was constantly changing hands during this period, ploughgates and fractions thereof being granted for a variety of returns. There was no fixed rent and ploughgates could be held in return for anything from a token payment (blenche-ferme) which usually took the form of a silver penny or gilt spurs to a more onerous rent in cash or kind or for knight service.[134] Ploughgates granted to religious houses were normally held in pure and perpetual alms. Dryburgh, Newbattle, Cambuskenneth and Arbroath Abbeys along with many others held ploughgates free from all services except prayers.[135]

The earliest example of a ploughgate being granted in return for a money rent may be dated to some point between 1160 and 1180 when John, abbot of Kelso granted

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134. King Malcolm IV granted half a ploughgate in Sprouston (Roxburghshire) to Serlo, his clerk for certain gilt spurs annually (RRS, i, no. 295). In the mid-fourteenth century a ploughgate of land in Norton (Ratho) was held in return for one silver penny, if asked (SRO GD 1/17/4). An unusual rent in kind was paid by a ploughgate at Crail to Lindores Abbey consisting of half a load of dried herring p.a. (Lind. Cart., no. 75). Curing of fish was an important activity and dried herring and other fish do not normally figure in the income of the religious houses. Duncan, Kingdom, 354.

135. ESC, no. 216; Newb. Reg., no. 40; RRS, ii, no. 99; Arb. Lib., i, no. 1.

half a ploughgate in the territory of Middleham to Osbern for an annual rent of eight shillings.[136] There was no standard sum payable from a ploughgate and money fermes range from two shillings and sixpence to four pounds.[137] This variation is not explicable in chronological terms: in fact both figures belong to the same period (c.1300), and therefore it must be accepted that the money rent paid by holders of plough-gates was subject to considerable variation. Presumably this was governed to some extent by the economic viability of the land and also by the financial position of the grantor and his relationship with the grantee. The adjustment of rents suggests that an attempt was made to keep them in accordance with the current economic value of the land. At Upper Lamberton (Berwickshire) one ploughgate was leased to Ingram de Guines and two ploughgates to Henry de Haliburton. There are two extents relating to these lands. One gives the rents as four shillings (one ploughgate) and five shillings (two ploughgates) and the other gives them as seven shillings and eight pence and fifteen shillings and four pence respectively.[138] Although the amount of rent due from a ploughgate varied quite considerably it can be stated that one mark or one and a half marks per

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136. Kel. Lib., i, no. 117. Middleham is now Midlem or Midholm, a village in Bowden parish, Roxburghshire.
137. Cold. Corr., App. p. ci; Kel. Lib., ii, 457.
138. Cold Corr., App. pp. ci, cii. It is not known whether the higher rents represent pre- or post-war (1297-8) conditions but it does reveal an example of rents being adjusted according to the economic value of the land. Duncan, Kingdom, 396.

ploughgate was a common demand.[139] This provides an interesting point of comparison with the cash rent most commonly demanded from the davach which was three merks, perfectly in keeping with the hypothesis discussed above that the davach was the equivalent of two ploughgates.[140]

The annual value of the ploughgate also varied to a considerable extent. The evidence available shows a range in values from eight shillings to nine pounds and two pence.[141] As with the annual rents this variation is not chronological and therefore cannot be explained in terms of inflation. The value of eight shillings was recorded c.1300 and the value of nine pounds and two pence was recorded in 1296.[142] It would obviously be partly determined by the quality of the soil and the quantity and quality of its produce. Perhaps noteworthy is the fact that the ploughgate whose annual value was eight shillings was only 64 acres, much smaller than the size of the normal ploughgate of 104 acres.[143]

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139. Abdn. Reg., ii, 277; Arb. Lib., i, no. 320; NLS Ms Adv. 15.1.18, no. 20 (Sir James Balfour of Denmilne); SRO RH 1/2/32; RRS, ii, no. 422. See appendix xx.
140. For cash rents paid by davachs see appendix xvii.
141. Cold. Corr., App. p. xciii; CDS, ii, no. 857.
142. Ibid.
143. Cold. Corr., App. p. xciii.

Holders of ploughgates were sometimes required to perform labour services as part of their rent over and above the cash they paid. These normally took the form of carriage service (carrying goods to and from markets) and help with the more intensive tasks of the farmer's year (ploughing, harvesting and sheep-shearing).[144] Labour services were owed even where the prior's tenant was knightly. Sir Ingram de Guines held one ploughgate in Lamberton (Berwickshire) for a rent of seven shillings and eight pence and nine days' work in autumn, ploughing and harrowing.[145] However, by the late-thirteenth century labour services were much on the wane; frequently being commuted for rents in money.[146] At Redden (Roxburghshire) each husbandland owed carriage service from Berwick with a horse once per week to bring grain, salt or coal, and labour on one day weekly. On those weeks when no carriage was done two days weekly labour was enjoined; at harvest no carriage was done, but three days weekly labour in the lord's field. Abbot Richard commuted all these services into a money rent of eighteen shillings for each husbandland.[147]

Ploughgates could also be granted in return for knight service although the evidence for this is not plentiful, partly because knight service was not laid

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144. RRS, ii, no. 422; Kel. Lib., ii, 461.
145. Cold. Corr., App. p. cii.
146. For a brief discussion of labour services see Duncan, Kingdom, 339-48.
147. Kel. Lib., ii, 456. Presumably the abbey had a financial reason for selling its labour dues, perhaps attributable to the outbreak of war in 1296.

upon church lands and therefore it is difficult to form any conclusions. The earliest surviving evidence that ploughgates were held in return for knight service may be found in a grant dated to some point between 1189 and c.1193 by which King William I gave to Humphrey, son of Theobald four ploughgates of land in Conveth (Laurencekirk, Mearns) for the service of half a knight.[148] However, in view of the above discussion of ploughgates north of the Forth it cannot be overlooked that these ploughgates may in fact have been davachs.[149] Whether or not they were is uncertain but a grant made between 1194 and 1214 by William Bruce to Ivo de Kirkpatrick of two ploughgates in the territory of Pennersax (Middlebie, Dumfriesshire) for a render of one-eighth part of the service of one knight proves that ploughgates were being granted in return for knight-service during this period.[150] It is possible that ploughgates were held for the service of knights from an earlier date particularly as infeftments for knight-service were known in southern Scotland, the area where the ploughgate predominated, from the reign of David I, but in those early charters which survive the land is described by name rather than in terms of the ploughgate.[151] Yet it would be rash to overstate the extent to which lands were held in return for knight service in the first half

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148. RRS, ii, no. 345.
149. See above pp. 223-30.
150. Fraser, Annandale, i, no. 3.
151. ESC, no. 186; RRS, i, no. 42.

of the twelfth century. Nevertheless, by the thirteenth century an assessment of the renders demanded from holders of ploughgates (excluding the large number of ploughgates belonging to the church which were normally granted in free alms) reveals that approximately 40% were held for knight or archer service.[152]

There is no surviving example of a full knight's service being demanded from the ploughgate (or ploughgates). Instead it is always a fraction of the service of a knight which appears or the less expensive feudal military render of the archer or serjeant.[153] Of those relevant documents which have survived the majority of ploughgates held for serjeanty tenure were royal grants whereas the majority of those held for knight service were grants by private individuals. This may partly explain the absence of single knight's feus as fractional feus are highly characteristic of infeftments created by subject superiors.[154] A distinction has been drawn between whole, half or (in the thirteenth century) quarter knights' feus which occur in royal grants of land and the lesser fractions such as ⅛ or 1/20 which are found in sub-infeudations.[155] Although the evidence relating to knight service and the ploughgate is limited it does agree with this. The largest surviving knight service reddendo levied from

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152. Meanwhile approximately 30% of ploughgates were granted for a cash reddendo and 30% for a small token payment. See appendix xx.
153. RRS, ii, nos. 345, 404; Melr. Lib., i, no. 233; RRS, i, no. 300.
154. See Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 133-4.
155. Ibid., 135.

the ploughgate is the service of half a knight which occurs in a royal grant.[156] Smaller fractions such as 1/8, 1/20 or 1/30 are confined to non-royal grants.[157] The smallest fraction levied on the ploughgate (or ploughgates) was 1/30. Between 1214 and 1247 Robert de Muscamp granted to William de Greenlaw two ploughgates in the territory of Halsington for 1/30 part of the service of one knight.[158] At the end of the twelfth century Richard de Montfiquet (Muschet) granted to William, son of Alexander half a ploughgate at Whitefield (Cargill, Perthshire), for the service of 1/10 part of half a knight, in other words 1/20 part of a knight.[159] Presumably this was so expressed because Cargill formed half a knight's fee.[160] Fractional service may have operated in a variety of ways. Holders of fractional feus may have discharged their duty in money terms paying a proportionate share towards the upkeep of one knight; they may have performed a lesser form of military duty; or, they may have provided a knight on a rota basis.[161]

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156. RRS, ii, no. 345.
157. Fraser, Annandale, i, no. 3; SRO J. Maitland Thomson's Photographs of Charters etc. Dupplin Charter Chest, no. 121.
158. Melr. Lib., i, no. 233. Greenlaw gave part of his lands in Halsington to Melrose Abbey before he died in 1247. Melr. Lib., i, no. 234; ES, ii, 545.
159. SRO J. Maitland Thomson's Photographs of Charters etc. Dúpplin Charter Chest, no. 121.
160. Between 1189 and 1195 King William I granted to Richard de Montfiquet Cargill (Perthshire) and Kincardine (Menteith, Perthshire) for the service of one knight. RRS, ii, no. 334.
161. Duncan, Kingdom, 386-7.

The importance of trying to determine the size of the knight's fee has been stressed by one English historian but this is a difficult task.[162] One eminent historian has noted that in Scotland in numerous instances knights' fees consisted of a compact inhabited locality which later emerged as a distinct parish or village.[163] It is difficult to assess the size of the knight's fee in terms of the ploughgate because the surviving evidence is limited although by a process of scaling up the fractional knight's service levied on the ploughgate it is possible to produce some figures. These would seem to indicate that a knight's fee ranged from twelve to sixteen ploughgates in Scotland south of the Forth although one non-royal grant implies a knight's fee of 90 ploughgates.[164] Although based on very few sources nevertheless these figures do seem to present a fairly accurate reflection of the size of the knight's fee in as much as this may be expressed by an approximate norm as they compare closely with

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162. S. Harvey, 'The Knight and the Knight's Fee in England', Past and Present, 49 (1970), 3. Referring to England Stenton concluded that '... the typical knight's fee proves elusive'. F.M. Stenton, The First Century of English Feudalism (2nd edn., Oxford 1961), 23.

163. Barrow, Kingdom, 294. He cites several examples including Lenzie in Dunbartonshire and Yester in East Lothian, both of which were created fees by William the Lion.

164. CDS, ii, no. 857; RMS, i, App., no. 54; Fraser, Annandale, i, no. 3; Melr. Lib., i, no. 233. This last document may not be dealing with knight service as such and may relate to common army service. This is suggested by the phrase 'cū(m) illud accid(er)it', 'when it shall happen' which normally accompanied common army service but not knight service.

figures available for English ploughgates of the same period. In the Danelaw a rather common estimate was twelve to fourteen ploughgates to the fee.[165] Between 1180 and 1196 Adam de Brus II granted to William de Wicton half a ploughgate in (Kirk) Levington (Yorkshire) to be held for the service which pertains to half a ploughgate where twelve ploughgates make one knight's fee.[166] However, larger fees were not uncommon; 24 and 48 ploughgates to the fee are known.[167]

In Ireland too the size of a knight's fee seems to have been fairly standardised.[168] Walter de Riddelesford was granted ten ploughlands for the fee of one knight c.1190s and a knight's fee of ten ploughlands seems to have been a fair average in County Dublin.[169]

In Scotland north of the Forth the size of the knight's fee in terms of ploughgates would appear to be smaller than in south-eastern Scotland. There is evidence for a knight's fee of eight ploughgates in Mearns and one of ten ploughgates in Perthshire.[170]

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165. Vinogradoff, English Society in the Eleventh Century, 56; Early Yorkshire Charters - The Honour of Richmond, ed. C.T. Clay, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series (1936).
166. Early Yorkshire Charters, ed. W. Farrer (Edinburgh 1915), ii, no. 666.
167. Vinogradoff, English Society, 56.
168. It has been suggested that the conception of a knight's fee of definite size was developing in England by the mid-twelfth century and that the Anglo-Normans took this conception with them to Ireland. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight-Service in Ireland', Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (1959), 88-9, 10.
169. Ibid., 10.
170. RRS, ii, no. 345; SRO J. Maitland Thomson's Photographs of Charters, Dupplin Charter Chest, no. 121. A similar situation seems to have prevailed in the Lennox where the size of a knight's fee was seven or eight ploughgates. See above p. 185.

This may be an accurate reflection of the situation or it may be yet another indication that ploughgates north of the Forth-Clyde line were frequently davachs by another name. There is an example of a knight's fee of ten davachs in Rescivet (Chapel of Garioch).[171] If this was the case the knight's fee of eight ploughgates (davachs) would be equivalent to sixteen south-country ploughgates and therefore comparable with the size of a knight's fee in the south of Scotland. However, in view of the paucity of the evidence it would be rash to form any conclusions on this point. Although the knight's fee appeared to be fairly standardised in the Danelaw smaller fees, most commonly of five ploughgates, did occur. In the mid-twelfth century William de Romara, Earl of Lincoln granted to Richard, his butler half a ploughgate in Raithby (near Bolingbroke, Lincolnshire) to be held for one-tenth part of the service of a knight.[172] This implies a knight's fee of five ploughgates and the apportionment of a payment in respect of military service on lands held by Bullington Priory is based on the principle that five ploughgates made one knight's fee namely one-fifth part of a knight for a ploughgate and one-fortieth part of a knight for a bovate.[173]

Further evidence that in Scotland the size of the knight's fee in terms of the number of ploughgates it comprised was

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171. SRO RH 1/2/33.
172. Stenton, Danelaw Charters, no. 512.
173. Ibid., no. 61.

standardised to some degree is perhaps suggested by the fact that serjeanty tenures, which provided a less expensive service than knight service were always much smaller than even the smallest knight's fee. Serjeanties were usually required to provide a mounted soldier, described variously as a serjeant or an archer with a haubergel. It is noteworthy that, although the evidence is very restricted, again there is a difference in the number of ploughgates which were requested to provide one archer north and south of the Forth. South of the Forth units of one or two ploughgates were granted in return for the service of one archer.[174] North of the Forth one archer was provided from half a ploughgate.[175] If the term ploughgate (carucata) was merely a substitution for the term davach (the equivalent of two south-country ploughgates) north of the Forth the difference may be more apparent than real as half a davach would be roughly equal to one ploughgate.[176] This seems particularly likely in the case of a Crail-shire fief where the service of one archer was demanded from half a Scottish ploughgate (carucata scottica).[177] The use of the word Scottish implies that

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174. RRS, i, no.300; HMC 2nd Report, App. p. 166 (Muniments of the Duke of Montrose), no. 6; RMS, i, App. p. 478, no. 101.
175. RRS, ii, no. 469.
176. For relationship of davach and ploughgate see above pp. 53-60.
177. RRS, ii, no. 469. For reference to Scottish ploughgates see above pp. 226-7.

there was something unusual about this ploughgate. However, serjeanties north of the Forth could be much larger than half a davach. At the beginning of the thirteenth century John, son of Uhtred held three davachs in Buchan for the service of one archer and at the same time Ranulf, the falconer held five davachs in Mearns also for the service of one archer.[178]

Whether ploughgates were held for knight or serjeanty service, money fermes, token payments or simply prayers and masses there was also a widespread obligation upon them of performing forinsec service; a military obligation to be discharged to the king.[179] King William I granted lands in Crail-shire to John Waleram to be held for the service of one serjeant on a horse with a haubergel and the performance of as much forinsec service as pertains to half a Scottish ploughgate in Crail-shire.[180] Forinsec service is consistently described in the sources by the phrase 'quantum pertinet ad x carrucatam terre', 'as much as pertains to x ploughgate of land' but the documents fail to specify what this service amounted to.[181] This

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178. A.B. Coll., 407-9; RRS, ii, no. 497.
179. In England forinsec service originally seems to have been employed for services, of whatever kind, which go beyond the immediate lord. Its military specialization followed naturally from the obsolescence of the ancient gelds. Stenton, Danelaw Charters, p. cxxvii.
180. RRS, ii, no. 469.
181. Ibid.; Melr. Lib., i, no. 204; Mort. Reg., ii, no. 5. In England also forinsec service was determined by the extent of the holding. A late-twelfth century grant of one bovate to Bullington Priory was to be held for the forinsec service which pertained to that bovate. Stenton, Danelaw Charters, no. 104.

omission and the fact that there are numerous references to forinsec service 'debita et consueta', 'owed and accustomed' implies that there was a recognised amount of military service due from a ploughgate.[182] That it was considerable is suggested by the fact that it was also levied on subdivisions of the ploughgate, even from as little as one oxgang. Circa 1252 the abbey of Coupar Angus received a grant of one oxgang in the Carse of Gowrie which they were to hold in perpetual alms free from all aid, custom and secular demand except the forinsec service of the king.[183] Since it is unlikely that the oxgang would be called upon to send less than one man for service in the host it seems likely that the ploughgate would supply at least eight men.[184] If one oxgang (a unit of approximately ten acres) did provide one man this may be compared with the provision of one man from one pennyland (a unit of approximately ten acres) which appeared to be the normal levy in Argyll at least for service in the host.[185] It does not seem rash to

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182. RMS, i, no. 421.
183. C.A. Chrs., i, 57. Since the grantor was unable to put the monks in full sasine as Sir William de Hay held the oxgang in tack from Martinmas, 1252 for the space of five years, he gave them another oxgang, also in the Carse.
184. However, this is possible as presumably fractions of a man could be demanded for service in the host in the same way as fractions of a knight or an archer were levied as feudal military renders. According to Fordun, three men were required from each hide (perhaps a synonym for ploughgate) for the expedition planned by Alexander III to go to the help of Henry III in 1264-5 (Chronicle of John of Fordun, ed. W. F. Skene (Edinburgh 1871-2), i, 302). A.A.M. Duncan suggests that perhaps this mobilisation was exceptional but he sees forinsec service as a liability whose incidence could vary: perhaps one, two or three men from each ploughgate. Duncan, Kingdom, 380.
185. See above pp. 118-9.

suggest that units of a comparable size would be capable of supplying a similar quota of fighting men and would therefore be assessed in a similar manner.

The bulk of the common army was made up of footsoldiers. Those of higher rank would normally serve on horseback. Occasionally it was stipulated that forinsec service must be performed on horseback. At the beginning of the thirteenth century David of Lyne granted half a ploughgate in Peebles-shire to Simon of Scroggs for a reddendo of twelve pennies at Martinmas. Moreover, he stipulated that Simon should go with him on his own horse to do the king's forinsec service. David of Lyne accepted full responsibility for Simon while he was performing the forinsec service. He undertook to find all necessaries for him and his horse and if the horse should die while in his service he would give him another.[186]

As already noted, service in the common army of the king was normally denoted by the term Scottish service or Scottish army in Scotland north of the Forth and by forinsec service south of the Forth.[187] However, it is notable that all grants of ploughgates north of the Forth

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186. Glasg. Reg., i, no. 85.
187. See above p. 81. For examples of the use of Scottish service see Moray Reg., no. 264; RMS, i, App. p. 452, no. 2; RRS, vi, no. 337; SRO GD 52/390 and for examples of the use of forinsec service see Melr. Lib., i, nos. 204, 233; Mort. Reg., ii, no. 5; RMS, i, no. 186.

which refer to service in the common army use the term forinsec service rather than Scottish service or any variant thereof.[188] Perhaps this is another example of the substitution of a native term by a term with which incomers were themselves familiar although clearly both conveyed the same meaning.[189]

The importance of forinsec service in Scotia has already been stressed and there is no doubt that it was equally important in Scotland south of the Forth. Royal confirmations of grants of ploughgates almost always include the phrase salvo servitio meo or nostro and even religious houses, which do not appear to have held lands for knight service, were not exempt from forinsec service. King William I confirmed to Kelso Abbey five ploughgates in Oxton (Channelkirk, Berwickshire) to be held in free, pure and perpetual alms 'salvo servicio meo'.[190] Even when the amount of land a religious house received was small they were, nevertheless, liable for the burden of military service. Melrose Abbey received two oxgangs in Primside (in Morebattle, Roxburghshire) from Kelso Abbey to be held in free alms.[191] When

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188. RRS, ii, nos. 131, 286, 402, 469; Highland Papers, ii, p. 124, no. 2; Scone Liber, no. 67.
189. Cf. substitution of davach by ploughgate for which see above pp. 223-30.
190. RRS, ii, no. 448. The five ploughgates were granted to Kelso by Alan, son of Roland of Galloway and his mother, Helen in exchange for the revenue which the abbey used to have in Galloway in the time of their predecessors (Kel. Lib., no. 245). The revenues from Galloway had apparently been granted originally by Uhtred, son of Fergus, lord of Galloway, and had got into arrears, no doubt because of the disturbed state of Galloway from 1174 to 1185. RRS, ii, no. 448n.
191. Melr. Lib., i, no. 146.

this grant was confirmed by William I he added the familiar rider 'salvo servicio meo'.[192] In the case of secular grants to religious houses the grantor occasionally undertook to perform the forinsec service due to the king. When Adam, son of Patrick of Carberry granted to Dunfermline Abbey six oxgangs in his lordship of Carberry (in Inveresk, Mid-Lothian) he himself undertook responsibility for the forinsec service due to the king from these lands.[193] Where the monks were not freed from military service by the king or relieved of it by a pious donor they probably passed it on to their vassals or tenants. Over and above a money rent and labour services Henry and Jordan de Pomario, tenants of the priory of Coldingham, were also liable for forinsec service.[194] English religious houses could make a cash payment in respect of forinsec (military) service. Bullington Priory received nine bovates from Philip of Kyme which were to be held free from all service except forinsec service which they discharged by a money payment.[195] As the unit upon which forinsec service was assessed in Scotland south of the Forth the ploughgate undoubtedly fulfilled a major role in the fiscal system of early medieval Scotland the merits of which can be partly judged by the successful campaigns of the Scottish people to retain their independence.

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192. RRS, ii, no. 441.
193. Dunf. Reg., no. 181.
194. Cold. Corr., App. p. cii. For a similar example see Kel. Lib., ii, 461.
195. Stenton, Danelaw Charters, no. 61.

The ploughgate also served as the unit upon which aid (an extraordinary taxation) was assessed.[196] At the beginning of the thirteenth century Alan of Ross held land in Fairlie (Largs) from Alan, son of Roland, constable of Scotland rendering in aid what pertained to one ploughgate of land.[197] Circa 1230, Henry of Graham, son of Sir Henry of Graham granted to Sir David Graham land in Clifton in the shire of Edinburgh to be held for the service of one archer and for as much aid as pertains to two ploughgates of land in Lothian.[198] Aid was also assessed on the oxgang. William I gave Allardyce (Mearns) to Walter, son of Walter Scott in return for the service of one archer with horse and haubergel and the performance of common aid due from thirteen oxgangs of land.[199]

It is more common to find ploughgates exempt from aid than from forinsec service particularly those ploughgates which were held by religious houses. Dryburgh Abbey held a ploughgate of land in Smailholm (Berwickshire) free from all aid and a ploughgate in Hadden (Roxburghshire) granted to Kelso Abbey was also free from aid.[200] Arbroath Abbey held two oxgangs in Catterline (Mearns) free from all aid and geld and Coupar Angus Abbey received one oxgang in the Carse of Gowrie,

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196. For aid see above pp. 88-90.
197. NLS Ms. Adv. 15.1.18. f. 75 (Balfour of Denmilne's Collections).
198. HMC, 2nd Report, App. p. 166 (muniments of the duke of Montrose), no. 6.
199. RRS, ii, no. 404.
200. Dryb. Lib., no. 299; Kel. Lib., i, no. 205.

again free from all aid.[201] Where the monks were not freed from the burden of aid to the king the grantor sometimes intercepted and accepted responsibility as he also did on occasion for forinsec service. When Adam, son of Patrick granted six oxgangs in Carberry to Dunfermline Abbey as well as taking care of forinsec service he also undertook to provide all aid which pertained to the king from the six oxgangs.[202] Simon, son of Michael granted a ploughgate of land in Kedlock (in Logie, Fife) to the Hospital of St Andrews. Simon and his heirs accepted responsibility for army service whilst the liability for aid fell to the hospital.[203]

The ancient Gaelic due of conveth was also assessed upon the basis of the ploughgate. Originally conveth was specifically hospitality and accommodation but later it could be discharged by a payment in kind or, eventually, in cash.[204] One document, a confirmation by Malcolm IV to the abbey of Scone c.1163 x 64, reveals exactly what conveth as a payment in kind amounted to. Scone had the right to take from each ploughgate on the feast of All Saints for conveth:

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201. Arb. Lib., i, no. 67; C.A. Chrs., i, no. 57.
202. Dunf. Reg., no. 181.
203. RRS, ii, no. 169.
204. See above pp. 90-92.

> 'one cow, two pigs, four measures of flour, ten thraves of oats, ten hens, 200 eggs, ten handfuls of candles, four pennyworth of soap and 20 x ½ mela (a measure) of cheese'. [205]

Thus the incidence of conveth was heavy upon the men who paid it. It was not dissimilar in its content to the Welsh entertainment or maintenance allowance,

gwestfa which comprised

> 'a horse-load of the best flour that shall grow on the land; the carcase of a cow or an ox; a full vat of mead, nine hand-breadths in its length diagonally, and the same in breadth; seven thraves of oats, of one band, for provender; a three year old swine; a salted flitch of three finger-breadths in thickness; and a vessel of butter, three hand-breadths in depth, not heaped, and three in breadth'. [206]

However, in Wales this burden was levied on the maenol, a unit of 1024 Welsh acres or approximately 256 English acres and thus twice the size of the ploughgate.[207] This may be further evidence to support the suggestion that the Scone ploughgate was none other than the davach by a different name.[208] Nevertheless, as the unit upon which various important taxes and services

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205. RRS, i, no. 243.
206. Owen, Ancient Laws, Bk. ii, 96.
207. According to the laws the maenol was subdivided for purposes of assessment into four trefs, each of which had four gafaels. Each gafael comprised four rhandirs, each rhandir four tyddyns and each tyddyn four erws (acres). Owen, Ancient Laws, Bk. ii, 90.
208. The davach was approximately 240 English acres and thus close to the size of the Welsh maenol. The use of the term ploughgate to refer to the davach is discussed above. See pp. 223-30.

were assessed in Scotland south of the Forth the ploughgate clearly fulfilled a major fiscal role between c.1100 and c.1400. In this respect it may be placed alongside the davach, the pennyland, the ounceland and the arachor - all of which fulfilled similar functions in different parts of the country.

Although the ploughgate system in the south-east of Scotland is traceable to the early twelfth century it would appear that it was already well-established by the time documentary material first becomes available. The earliest known extant documentary reference to the ploughgate is contained in a charter by Thor the Long to the monks of Saint Cuthbert at Durham. This grant, of the church of Ednam (Roxburghshire) and one ploughgate of land, was made c.1105.[209] Thus, the ploughgate clearly functioned as a land unit at the very beginning of the twelfth century and Thor, whose name implies Scandinavian origins, although probably remote, was sufficiently familiar with this unit. Thor originally received this land in Ednam, which was lying waste, by a grant of King Edgar and a later letter of Thor makes it clear that Edgar had chosen the dedication to Saint Cuthbert and given the ploughgate of land, presumably from Thor's fief.[210] Thus the ploughgate was also recognised as a unit of land at a royal level at this

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209. ESC, no. 24.
210. Ibid., no. 33.

time and further evidence of this is to be found in a confirmation charter of Thor's grant by Earl David between 1117 and 1124.[211] The fact that the earliest references to the ploughgate are found in royal and non-royal documents suggests that it was already a widely recognised and used unit by the time the first documentary evidence becomes available.

References to ploughgates in the south-east are considerable in the charters of the reign of David I and these continue to multiply during the second half of the twelfth century. The likeliest explanation for this increase is that the use of documentation became more common during this period and increasing quantities of this material survived. It is not likely that it represents a more widespread adoption of the ploughgate as a unit of land assessment in this area although some ploughgates would undoubtedly represent new land being broken out in response to rising population and growing pressure on the land.

There are a considerable number of references to oxgangs during the reign of David I, the earliest of which is contained in a confirmation by Robert, bishop of St Andrews of King David's grant to Holyrood Abbey of the church of Corstorphine with two oxgangs. This can be dated to c.1130.[212] References to oxgangs become more plentiful between 1150 and 1200 from which point the number of references to oxgangs remains stable until

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211. Ibid., no. 34.
212. Holy. Lib., no. 2.

the end of the fourteenth century. Again the initial increase should probably be seen as a reflection of the current increase in documentary record rather than as an indication that the oxgang was something new in the first half of the twelfth century which spread gradually during the remainder of the century.

Outwith the south-east it may well be that the ploughgate-oxgang system should be seen as something new which was being introduced in the twelfth century rather than as part of a well-established system of considerable antiquity. In Scotia it has been argued that many ploughgates were in fact davachs by another name.[213] The earliest reference to the use of the term carucata to describe a land unit north of the Forth is found in a charter of Alexander I to Scone Abbey circa 1120.[214] By this grant Scone received 36 ploughgates of land in Perthshire and Angus. However, these ploughgates were more than likely davachs and cannot be taken as concrete evidence that the plough-gate system was in use in Scotia at this time.[215] The earliest reference to oxgangs in Scotland north of the Forth is not found until the reign of William I. Circa 1178, Walter, son of Philip of Lundin granted to the abbot and canons of the church of Saint Mary of Stirling four oxgangs in Balcormo (Largo, Fife) and it is with the appearance of this unit that the ploughgate

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213. See above pp. 223-30.
214. ESC, no. 36.
215. See above pp. 223-30.

system may be said to have been in operation in Scotland north of the Forth.[216]

It has already been noted that documentary references to ploughgates in Scotia declined considerably in the thirteenth century and the explanation was put forward that the term carucata temporarily replaced the term davach in this area.[217] There was no such decline in the number of references to oxgangs north of the Forth where there as many records of oxgangs in the thirteenth century as in the twelfth. Thus evidence relating to the oxgang would seem to produce a more accurate picture of the use of the ploughgate system in this area and the lack of references to oxgangs in Scotia before the seventh decade of the twelfth century is a good indication that the ploughgate system should be regarded as something new in this area in the twelfth century. This would also seem apparent from a study of the geographical distribution of ploughgates and oxgangs in Scotia as it corresponds very closely with those areas which were settled by Anglo-Norman families in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[218] It is to these incoming families that the introduction and development of the ploughgate-oxgang system in Scotia should probably be attributed.

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216. Camb. Reg., no. 36. The church of St Mary of Stirling was the Augustinian Abbey of Cambuskenneth.
217. See above pp. 229-30.
218. Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 30. For distribution of ploughgates and oxgangs see appendices viii and ix.

The distribution of the ploughgate in the south-west also resembles the spread of crown feudalism in that area during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Soon after David became king, perhaps indeed at his inauguration, in 1124, Robert de Brus received from him Annandale and both ploughgates and oxgangs are later found here.[219] The striking contrast between 'feudalized' Cunningham and Kyle (where ploughgates are found) and 'unfeudalized' Carrick (a district of no ploughgates) has been remarked upon.[220] The feudalization of Galloway began later with Uhtred, lord of Galloway (1165 x 1174) and the earliest record of the ploughgate in Galloway is found in a grant by Uhtred to Holyrood Abbey of the church of St Bridget of Blaiket (Kirkbride) and one ploughgate of land.[221] Thus it seems most likely that, as in Scotia, the ploughgate was something new in the south-west in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries although it is perhaps significant that there are Anglian traces in Dumfries-shire and Ayrshire from the first phase of English-speaking settlement in Scotland, a settlement which appears to have

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219. Duncan, Kingdom, 135. Robert de Brus was a Norman from the Cotentin peninsula.
220. Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 46, 58-9 (Maps 8 and 9).
221. Holy. Lib., no. 52. The parish of Kirkbride, also known as Blaket, disappears in the fifteenth century, presumably having been merged with that of Urr. I. Cowan, The Parishes of Medieval Scotland (SRS, 93, Edinburgh 1967), 118. For the feudalization of Galloway see Duncan, Kingdom, 182.

begun in the sixth century.[222] If the Angles are to be credited with the introduction of the ploughgate to south-east Scotland it is possible that it was also established in parts of the south-west from a very early date.[223]

The use of the term carucata in the Lennox does not appear to relate to the ploughgate system as such and should probably best be seen as the term applied by incomers to describe the native system of assessment they found in operation in the Lennox (the arachor).[224] If, and the possibility does remain, any of the Lennox carucatae were typical of the ploughgate of south-east Scotland they should probably be dated to no earlier than the thirteenth century when the Lennox began to be infiltrated by Anglo-Norman incomers.[225]

Thus, it seems clear that the earliest use of the ploughgate system in Scotland was in the south-east where it was firmly established as a unit of assessment by the time documentary evidence becomes available at the beginning of the twelfth century. The distribution of ploughgates in Scotia and in the south-west closely resembles the spread of crown feudalism in those districts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and it seems most likely that it was at this time that the ploughgate was introduced to these areas.

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222. Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 6. For Anglian place-names in these areas see Nicolaisen, Scottish Place-Names, 68-83.
223. This theory is discussed below. See p. 261.
224. For a discussion of ploughgates in the Lennox see above pp. 180-83.
225. Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 135; Stringer, Earl David, 18.

The introduction of the ploughgate into south-east Scotland should probably be traced to English influence in the area. Reference has already been made to the fact that the ploughgate was also found in England in the northern Danelaw and in the four northernmost counties and there is nothing to suggest that the Scottish ploughgate was not an exact replica of the English ploughgate. At the beginning of the twelfth century south-east Scotland was mainly English in speech and broadly English or Anglo-Scandinavian in culture, even though the basic population was probably a mixture of old Brittonic, Votadinian stock, and an Anglian strain.[226] The anglicisation of the south-eastern part of Scotland began as early as the sixth and seventh centuries when the Anglo-Saxons came to Scotland.[227] Thus the origins of the ploughgate system of south-east Scotland can be dated to somewhere between the sixth and the twelfth centuries. Of course, when the ploughgate reached Scotland is obviously dependent upon when it originated in England.

The question of the origins of the ploughgate in England has long been a matter of controversy among historians. The orthodox theory is that carucation is of Danish origin.[228] This is partly based on the fact

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226. Between the mid-tenth century and the end of the eleventh century a certain Scottish, that is to say Gaelic-speaking, element had been introduced into this Anglo-Brittonic mixture. Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 33.
227. Duncan, Kingdom, 59-65; Barrow, Anglo-Norman Era, 6.
228. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 458; Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 514; S.P.J. Harvey, 'Taxation and the Ploughland in Domesday Book', Domesday Book A Reassessment, ed. P. Sawyer (London 1985), 92.

that the ploughgate is found in the northern Danelaw. However, it was also present in the four northernmost counties of England while it was absent from other parts of the Danelaw such as Cambridgeshire where the units of assessment were the hide and the virgate.[229] Its geographical distribution has also led to the assertion that '...it corresponds not to any frontier between the English and the Danes but to the older lines of the Heptarchy.'[230] Following this premise it has been claimed that the ploughgate was of pre-Danish origin and belonged essentially to the Anglian kingdom of Deira.[231] Certainly there is no evidence that the Danes used ploughgates and oxgangs in their homeland and the Danish terms <u>ból</u> and <u>otting</u> are not found in England although it may be significant that the <u>ból</u> was divided into eight <u>ottings</u> just as the ploughgate was divided into eight oxgangs.[232] The presence of the ploughgate in areas of Anglian settlement in Scotland may support a pre-Danish origin for the ploughgate as may the discovery that the system of reckoning in sixes and twelves found in the carucated districts of England and therefore attributed to the Danes also appears to have been used in Scotland and Ireland from a very early date.[233]

However, there is considerable evidence which points

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229. For the geographical distribution of the English ploughgate see D. Hill, <u>An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England</u> (Oxford 1981), 98.
230. Lennard, 'The Origins of the Fiscal Carucate', 55.
231. J. Jolliffe, 'A Survey of Fiscal Tenements', 168.
232. F.M. Stenton, 'The Danes in England', <u>Proceedings of the British Academy</u> (1927), 13, 40.
233. See above pp. 151-57.

to an early employment of the hide in the north of England. If the ploughgate system had been imposed on Deira during the period of Northumbrian greatness it is strange that Bede, writing after that period, employed the family land unit, '<u>terra unius familiae</u>', the likely equivalent of the hide.[234] Land is also measured in terms related to holdings or households in Eddius' <u>Life of Wilfred</u>, also significant because Eddius had come to Northumbria from Kent where land measures were based on the plough.[235] Even in the tenth and eleventh centuries documentary references to hides are found in the north of England. The hide appears as the local agrarian unit at Sherburn in Elmet in 963 and nearly 40 years later it is found in two other of the Danelaw shires - the will of Wulfric Spot refers incidentally to hides at Awsworth in West Nottinghamshire and at Sharnford in South Leicestershire.[236] In eleventh-century Yorkshire it was still possible to speak of 'one hide and five oxgangs'.[237]

In the light of this evidence it seems unlikely that the ploughgate-oxgang system was as old as the seventh-century and what seems more probable is that it was introduced by the Danes probably in a piecemeal fashion from the ninth century onwards, in many cases the carucate

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234. See above pp. 36-7.
235. '<u>Vita Wilfridi</u>', ed. Raine, i, c.8, 12; <u>HE</u>, iv, 2.
236. F.M. Stenton, 'Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw', <u>Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History</u>, 2 (Oxford 1910), 88.
237. W.H. Stevenson, 'Yorkshire Survey and Other Documents of the Eleventh Century', <u>EHR</u>, 27 (1912), 16.

or ploughgate being no more than the old hide under a new name.[238] One fact which cannot be disputed is that the oldest recorded form of the word ploughland in England appears in a definitely Scandinavian form 'plōgs-land' in Yorkshire documents of the eleventh century.[239] In twelfth-century Lincolnshire Rannulf II, Earl of Chester, in referring to the land of Spileman, his chamberlain, describes it as 'ploxlandam unam', 'one plogsland'.[240]

If the ploughgate was developed in England as a result of Danish influence it is unlikely that it would have reached Scotland before the tenth century. It appears to have made rapid progress in south-east Scotland as it gives the impression of a well-established system both agriculturally and fiscally by the beginning of the twelfth century. The fact that there is little trace of any previous unit of assessment in this area is an indication of just how widespread and rapid was the adoption of the ploughgate. But, just as the ploughgate was imposed upon an already existing system of assessment in England so too in south-eastern Scotland something must have existed before the ploughgate. Perhaps the thirteenth-century reference to the davach in Tweeddale is an indication that the davach was once the unit of assessment south of the Forth.[241] Traces of the house unit may also be found in the area and since

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238. For further arguments in favour of a Danish origin for the ploughgate, including its use in Normandy see R. Lennard, 'The Origins of the Fiscal Carucate', EcHR, 14 (1944), pp. 51-63 and references therein.
239. Stevenson, 'Yorkshire Surveys', 15-17.
240. Stenton, Danelaw Charters, no. 496.
241. The Tweeddale davach is discussed on pp. 48-9.

the house unit and the davach both belonged to the same basic system of assessment it is possible that they were in use in south-eastern Scotland before the units of assessment based on the plough were introduced.[242] However, the fact that this earlier system, whatever it was, appears to have more or less completely disappeared is a testimony to the success with which the ploughgate system was established in the south-east of Scotland, a system which was obviously ideally suited to the rich farming lands of this part of the country.

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242. Evidence for the house unit in the south-east is discussed briefly above. See p. 41.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

In the period from the beginning of the twelfth century, when documentary sources largely begin, to the end of the fourteenth century, multifarious units of land assessment were found in Scotland. The important units recorded were davachs, pennylands, ouncelands, arachors and ploughgates. This may be compared with what was happening in the rest of the British Isles where there is no example of any country having only one standard, uniform assessment unit. In England hides, ploughgates (carucates) and sulungs were found. In Wales the principal units were the maenol and the tref, each with their various sub-divisions. Meanwhile, in Ireland the main assessment terms in use included the baile bíataigh, the baile and the colpe or capell, again each one having numerous sub-divisions.[1]

In Scotland the situation is not quite as complex as it first appears and the various units can, in fact, be grouped into two principal systems, one which included davachs, ouncelands and arachors and their subdivisions and the other which comprised the ploughgate and its subdivisions.[2] In a

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1. For Irish land assessments before 1700 see McErlean, 'Irish Townland System', 333-35.
2. Ouncelands and pennylands in the Northern Isles and Caithness belong to a different system.

geographical sense the former is found, sometimes represented by one of the units, sometimes by more than one, over most parts of Scotland except the south-east, the area where the ploughgate system predominated. The ploughgate system is also found, to a lesser extent, north of the Forth and in parts of the south-west where an overlap occurs between the two systems. However, in some instances the appearance of the term ploughgate outwith the south-east is not sufficient evidence that the ploughgate system was in operation as it quite often represented the application by clerks of terms with which they were familiar (carucata) to describe native land units (e.g. the davach).

The davach and the ounceland were clearly the same unit and each comprised twenty pennylands. Pennylands were frequently grouped in fives and the quarter-davach or quarter-ounceland was a normal subdivision of the larger unit. The arachor, too, was commonly divided into quarters and, although there is no evidence that it was further subdivided into twentieths, a smaller unit than the quarterland did exist, namely the house which may well have represented one-twentieth. This pattern of quadripartite division is also reflected in the assessment systems found in other parts of Celtic Britain.

Larger territorial groupings also indicate that davachs, ouncelands and pennylands all belonged to the

same system. Both davachs and ouncelands were often grouped in sixes and pennylands were found in groups of 120 (six x twenty). In terms of size the relationship of pennylands to davachs and ouncelands is also consistent. The larger units comprised approximately 200 acres and the pennyland was in the region of ten acres.

The basis of this system can be traced at least as far back as the seventh century. According to the Senchus Fer nAlban, in early Dalriada the basic unit of assessment was the house which was grouped into twenties for fiscal purposes, each twenty houses being required to provide 28 oarsmen for service at sea. The house system appears to be an expression of the client system of the nobility in early Irish society. Of course, it was from Ireland that the Dalriadic people came to Scotland. The house or household appears to have formed the basis of assessment systems in early Wales and Anglo-Saxon England too and, indeed, this method of reckoning is probably of considerable antiquity.

There are indications that the house unit spread from Dalriada to other parts of Scotland, possibly at an early date, but although it was certainly present in the Lennox in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it appears to have almost disappeared elsewhere. However, although the term

house was no longer common the twenty-house grouping of Dalriada is clearly reflected in the twenty-pennyland grouping of the early medieval period providing remarkable evidence of continuity in the structure and organisation of land assessment over most of Scotland.

The different units based on the twenty-house system reflect the different dues or renders levied from the land and, to a certain extent, indicate the different influences of different cultures at different times. The davach appears to have replaced the twenty-house unit, under the influence of the Scots, presumably because the twenty-house unit paid a large vat ('dabhach') of grain as a render and the term 'dabhach' came to be applied to the extent of land which paid this render. The individual house came to be known as the pennyland presumably because, at some point, a render of one silver penny was levied from the house and in much the same way the davach, or what was originally the twenty-house unit, also became known as the ounceland because it represented the amount of land which paid a tax in money or produce to the value of one ounce of silver. The geographical distribution of the use of the terms ounceland and pennyland reflects Scandinavian influence although it is uncertain whether the Scandinavians were initially responsible for levying these taxes.

By taking into consideration the geographical distribution of the different units which originated from the initial system based on the twenty-house unit along with the population movements of the disparate peoples who eventually came together to form the kingdom of Scotland it is possible to construct a chronological framework within which the various units evolved. The davach, which was found in the west highlands and islands, the north-east and the south-west appears to have replaced the twenty-house unit at some date after 650 and before 850; the pennyland, which was found in the west highlands and islands and the south-west, began to replace the individual house somewhere between the mid-ninth century and the tenth-century; the ounceland, which was found in the west highlands and islands, was also applied to the twenty-house unit certainly not before the second half of the ninth century and possibly post-tenth century but before 1200, although the davach continued to be used as well.[3] However, whether a division of land was called a davach, an ounceland or a twenty-pennyland the ancient bounds would remain unaltered. Although the names of the units changed, nevertheless, the way in which the land was divided up for assessment purposes

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3. Ouncelands and pennylands were also found in Caithness and the Northern Isles but they belonged to a different system of assessment.

remained static. These new names were more a reflection of what was being levied from the land and the framework upon which they were based was still that which was found in operation in Dalriada at least as early as the seventh century.

The system of assessment based on the ploughgate, the other main system found in Scotland between c.1100 and c.1400, was not a variation of the twenty-house system. In early societies it is impossible to over-estimate the potential importance of the plough.[4] Indeed, it was the plough that provided the basis of the ploughgate system of assessment, the ploughgate being calculated as the amount of land a ploughteam could handle in one year. This was normally in the region of 104 acres. The ploughgate was subdivided into eight units, known as oxgangs or bovates, terms which also relate to ploughing capacity. The oxgang was a unit of approximately thirteen acres. This is quite close to the acreage of the pennyland, a common subdivision in the other main system of assessment. The ploughgate was introduced to Scotland via England although it is uncertain whether its presence in England was indigenous or the result of Danish influence.

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4. A. Fenton, 'Early and Traditional Cultivating Implements in Scotland', PSAS, 96 (1962-63), 265.

Although the ploughgate system and the system which was based on the twenty-house unit represented two completely different methods of assessing the land it appears that an attempt was made to relate one to the other in areas where the two over-lapped and it seems that one davach was considered the equivalent of two ploughgates. Certainly this is consistent with the acreage of these two units and it also explains the practice whereby churches in the north-east were commonly endowed with half a davach while in the south-east they were often endowed with a whole ploughgate.

As regards their derivation the various land units can be arranged into two broad classes, those whose terminology implies an agrarian meaning and those which appear to have had a fiscal meaning. The units which fall into each of the two categories correspond closely to the grouping of units into two distinct systems referred to above. The units which belonged to the ploughgate system were evidently based on measures of ploughing capacity and those which belonged to the house system denoted different kinds of render, one exception being the arachor. The arachor appears to have belonged to the system of assessment which originated with the house unit and the presence of the house in the Lennox more or less confirms this although its

terminology implies that it was a measure of ploughing capacity which cannot naturally be connected with taxation. In a sense the ploughgate system may be claimed to have been looking at the land from the point of view of the peasant community concerned with their labour input, the man toiling in the field, whereas the house system reflects the standpoint of the lord who exacted tribute from the peasantry.

Whether the various units were agrarian or fiscal in origin they were all functioning in both capacities by c.1100 or soon thereafter. Holdings and touns were commuted in terms of davachs, ploughgates etc. and they created a structured framework within which settlement and arable land developed. The land divisions formed an integral part of agricultural organisation and, indeed, reflected agricultural practice and aspects of land use during this period. The consolidated bounds and naming pattern of the units which developed from the house system indicated compact pieces of land suited to a dispersed form of settlement, either small hamlets or isolated farmsteads, whereas the abstract, scattered nature of the ploughgate and its subdivisions reflected a pattern of open-field farming and nucleated village settlements. The

large open fields of the south-east, the area where the ploughgate system was in use, were normally cultivated by the heavy-wheeled plough drawn by a team of eight oxen. A large team was obviously better suited to a village rather than a hamlet type of settlement. The enclosed fields of the other system were probably worked by a lighter plough, possibly with only two oxen and it is significant that later plough-types do seem to conform to a distinction between south and north in this respect.[5]

All land assessments were measures of arable land, a reminder that Scotland was not just a pastoral country. Even in the Lennox, an area largely unsuited to arable farming, assessment was based on the plough. Certainly pasture was important in early-medieval Scotland. Indeed, it was a necessary accompaniment to arable land which was ploughed by oxen who required pasture to feed off. It may be that pastureland was

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Duncan, Kingdom, 319.

neglected in systems of assessment, not because it was unimportant but, rather, because it was indispensably necessary. Nevertheless the fact that it was arable land that was assessed shows that it was the amount of land that could be ploughed and sown and the quantity of crops that could be harvested that was of primary concern to a society which relied upon the exploitation of the land to produce its food.

Land in early-medieval Scotland was subject to many exactions including rents in money, food and services and the right to levy military service, aid and compulsory hospitality. These rights and dues were an integral part of the economic organisation of the political and social structure and it is in this context that the land assessment systems discussed above fulfilled an important fiscal role in society during this period. The various land divisions functioned as the units upon which rents and taxes were assessed and levied.

One of the primary fiscal functions of the land assessment systems was their role in the levying of military service particularly as the importance of the common army for the history of Scotland in this period cannot be over-stressed. Each unit was required to provide a number of men and although the number was normally unspecified in

the documents there is enough evidence to conclude that the davach, the ounceland and the pennyland were responsible for providing a quota of fighting men perfectly in accordance with their relationship to one another. Even more significant is the fact that the number of fighting men which the davach or twenty-pennyland unit had to provide in the early-medieval period was very similar to that required from the twenty-house unit in early Dalriada providing yet more evidence of the remarkable degree of continuity in this system of assessment.

In a society where land was of paramount importance, where the possession and the use of land was vital and where rents and taxes were levied on the occupiers of the soil a successful system of land assessment was obviously indispensable to the cohesion and smooth-running of that society. Furthermore, the importance of the successful operation of land assessments cannot be over-stressed in a society which relied upon those assessments for the organisation of its defence. Both in their capacity as agricultural and fiscal units the various land assessments found in Scotland before 1400 fulfilled a crucial role forming an integral part of the agricultural, economic and military organisation of society. The successful operation

of the house system of Dalriada and its importance is evident from its continuity. Indeed, the structured framework created by this system must have acted as an important prop, facilitating the infiltration and take over of other parts of Scotland by the people of Dalriada. Eventually it came to provide the basic framework for land assessment over most of Scotland, except the south-east, until the fifteenth century when money assessments began to become more common. Nevertheless, the ancient measures continued to be used and did not become obsolete until the eighteenth century when they were replaced by the acre measurement all over Scotland.[6]

This thesis has attempted to tackle many of the problems inherent in understanding early systems of land assessment in Scotland by adopting a general approach and the value of the study is, to some extent, enhanced by the nature of the evidence which was not, in itself, intended to relate to the study of assessment systems and is, therefore, impartial and of considerable authority. Although various anomalies have been ironed out, misconceptions removed and hypotheses put forward,

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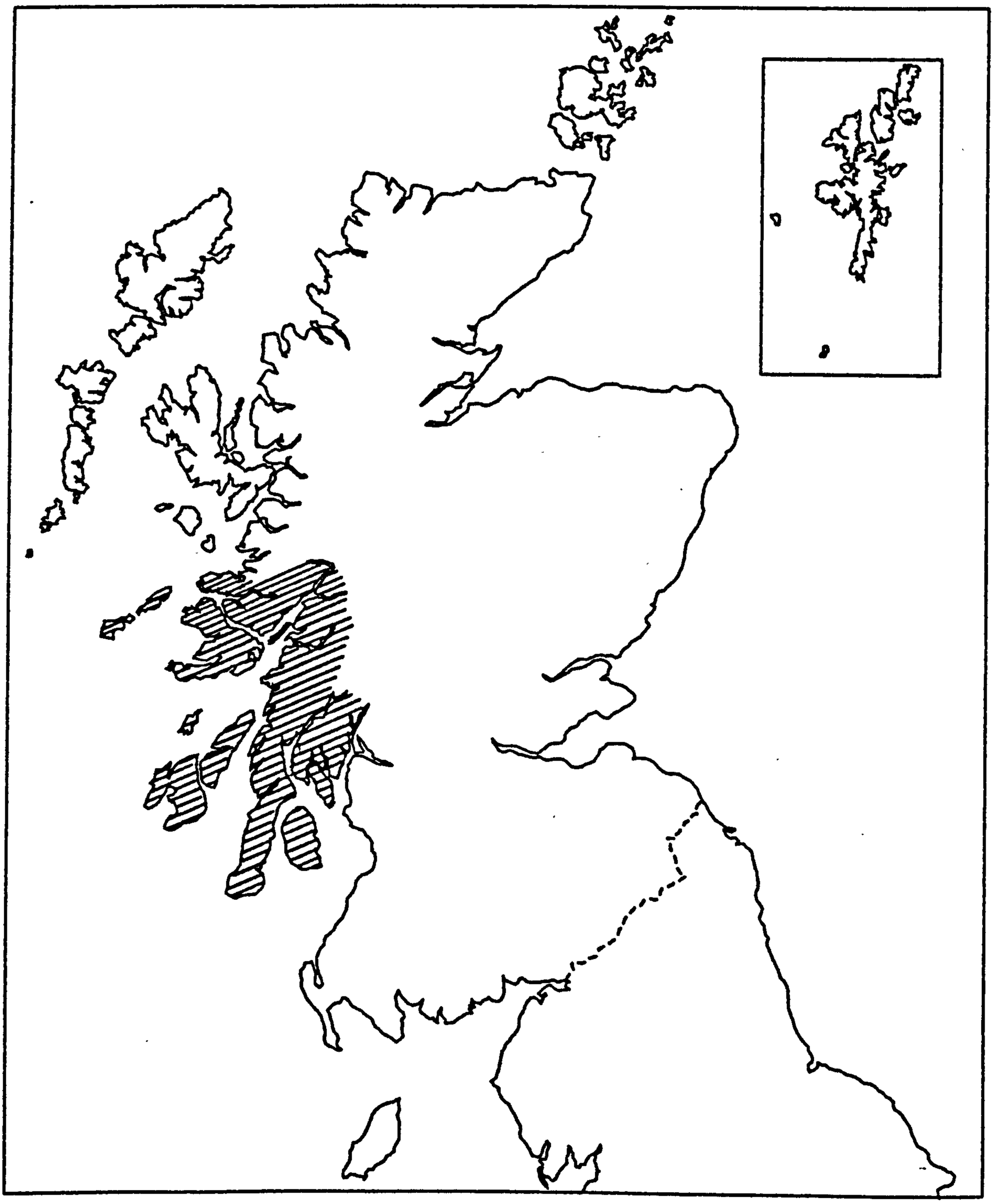
6. A. McKerral, 'The Acre Extent of the Merkland', PSAS, 82 (1947-48), 288.

nevertheless, certain problems remain unsolved. One of the next steps which must be taken in this field is a move from the general to the specific and the results obtained by the general approach taken in this thesis could now be supplemented by in-depth localised studies. It is also necessary to know more about agricultural practices during the period such as plough types and ploughing techniques while the tantalising albeit brief discussions of the relationship between land assessments and the church and the organisation of land assessments into larger groups are two areas which are likely to yield a worthwhile harvest in further studies of the subject of land assessment.

APPENDIX I

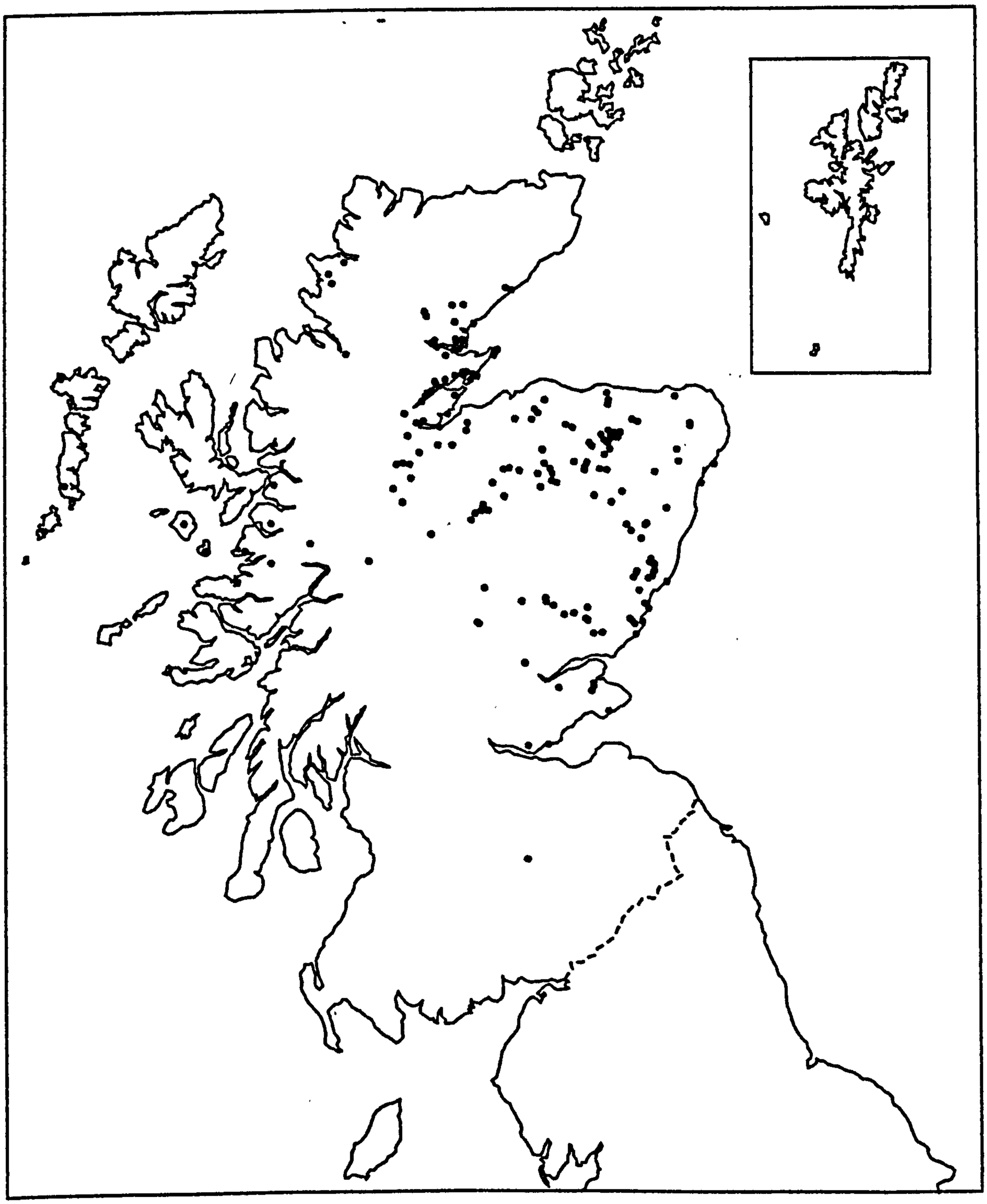
DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSE IN DALRIADA



Shaded area represents the Kingdom of Dalriada where the house system was in use.

APPENDIX II

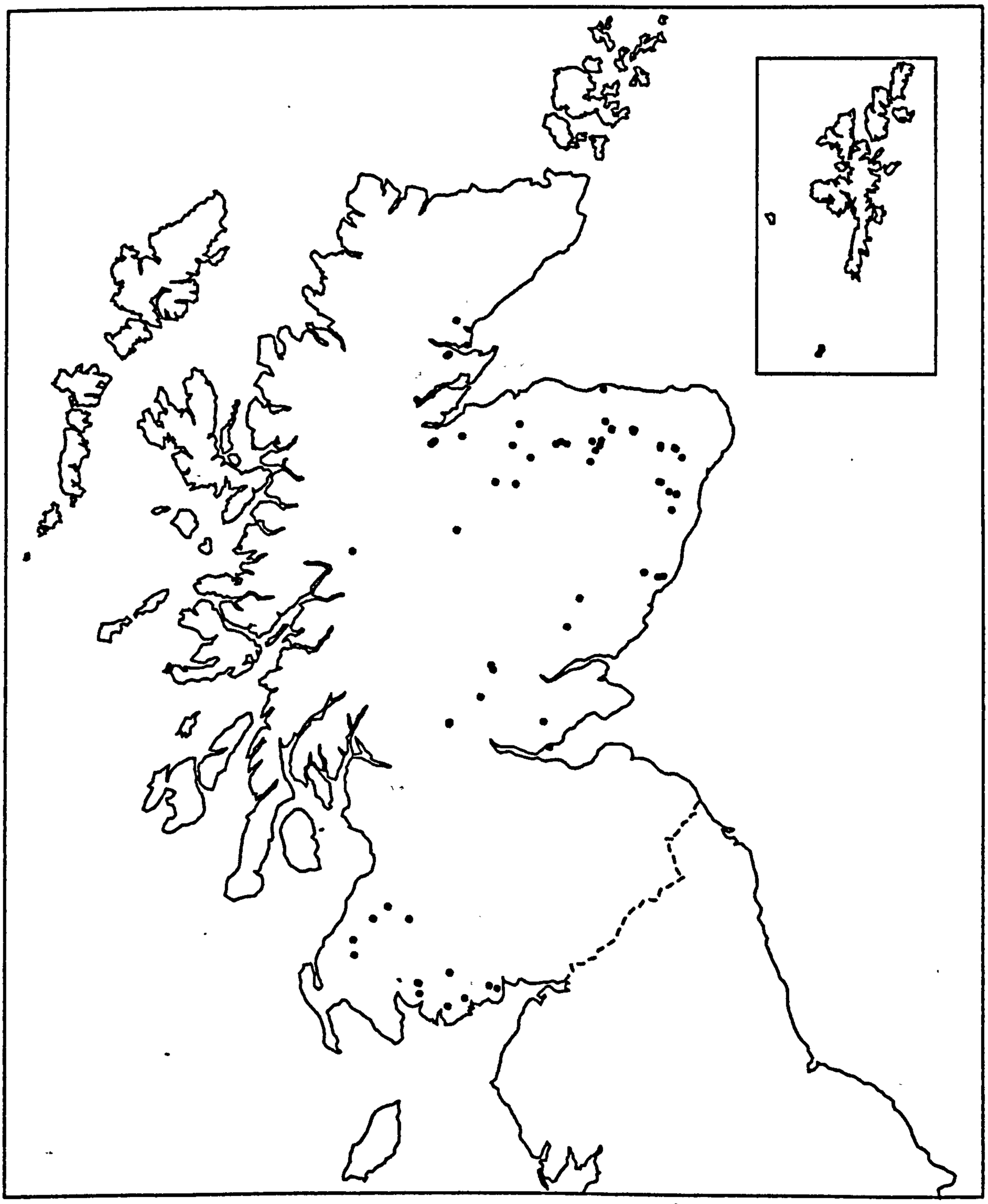
DISTRIBUTION OF DAVACHS BEFORE 1400



Dots represent individual documentary references to davachs (fractions or multiples thereof) before 1400.

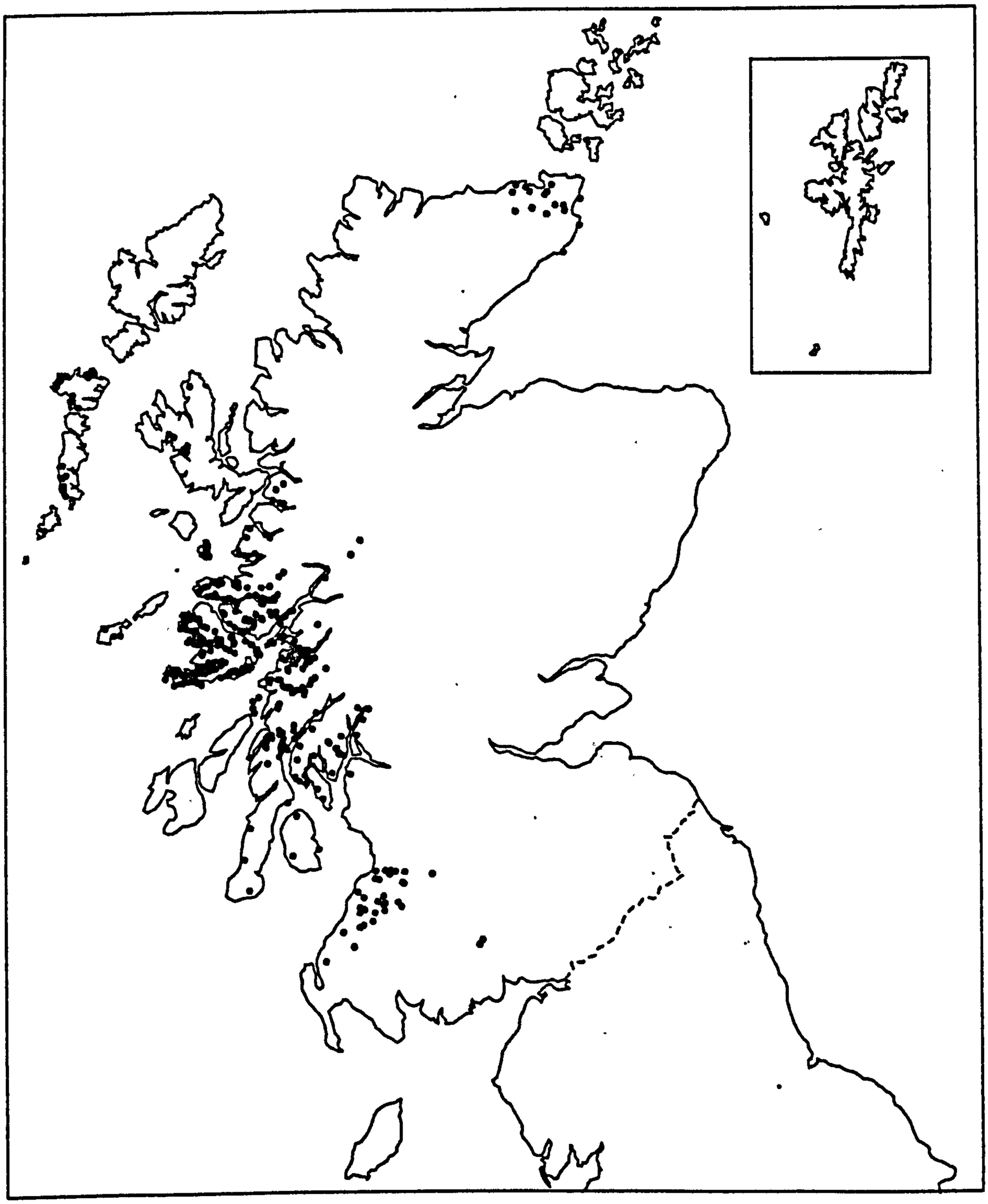
APPENDIX III

DISTRIBUTION OF DAVACH PLACE-NAMES



APPENDIX IV

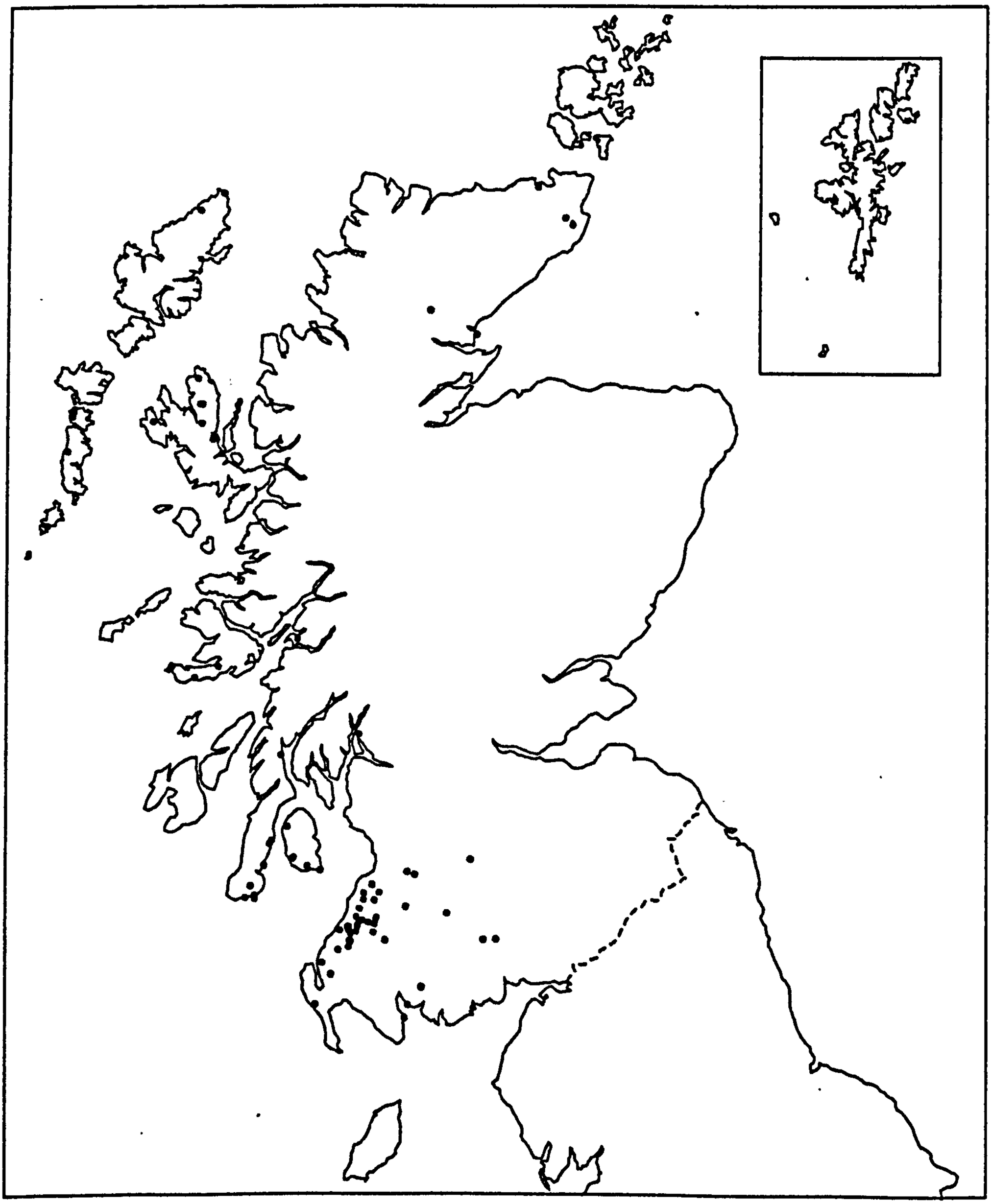
DISTRIBUTION OF PENNYLANDS BEFORE 1600



Dots represent individual documentary references to pennylands (fractions or multiples thereof) before 1600. Pennylands in the Northern Isles are not represented.

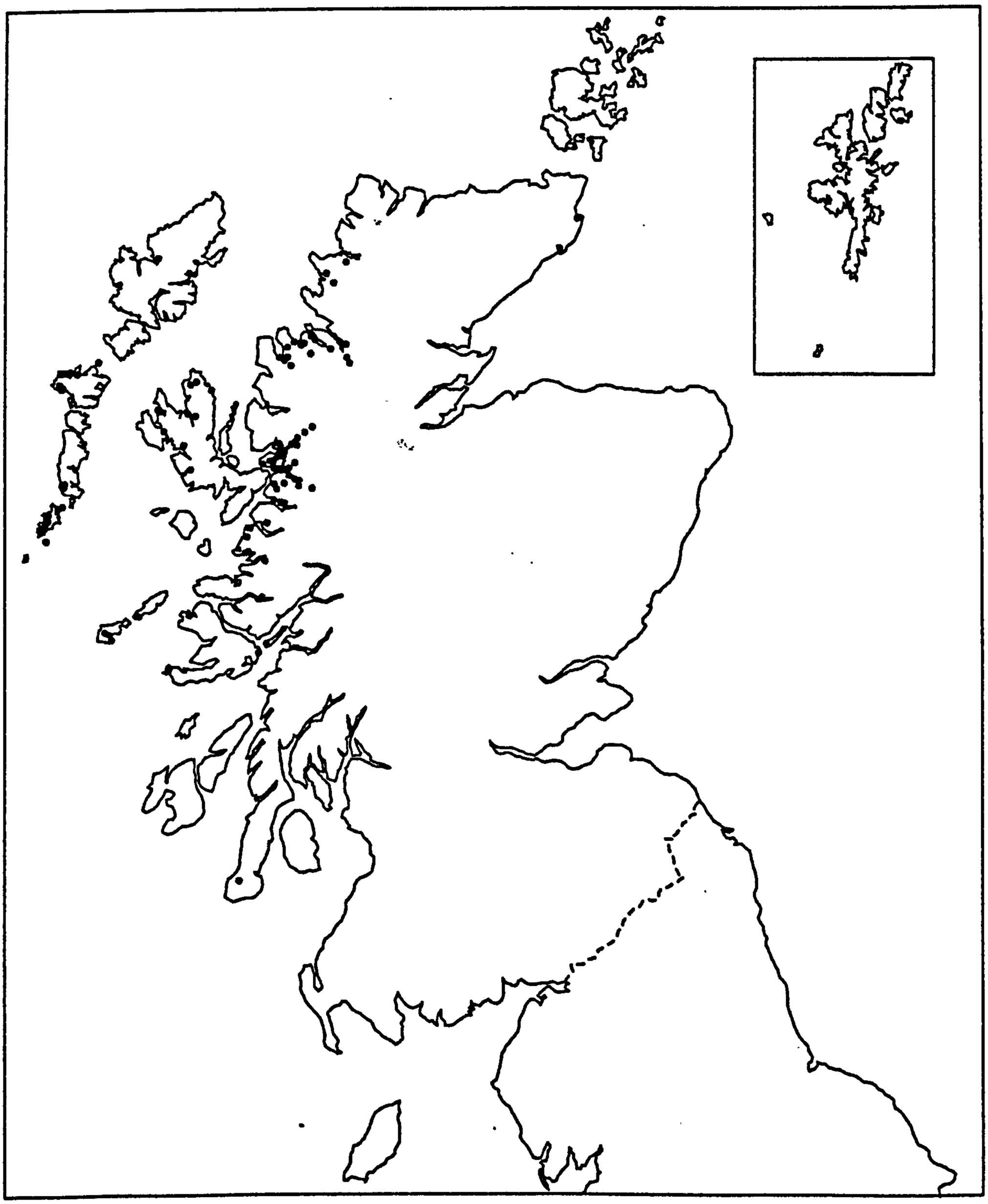
APPENDIX V

DISTRIBUTION OF PEIGHINN/PENNYLAND PLACE-NAMES



APPENDIX VI

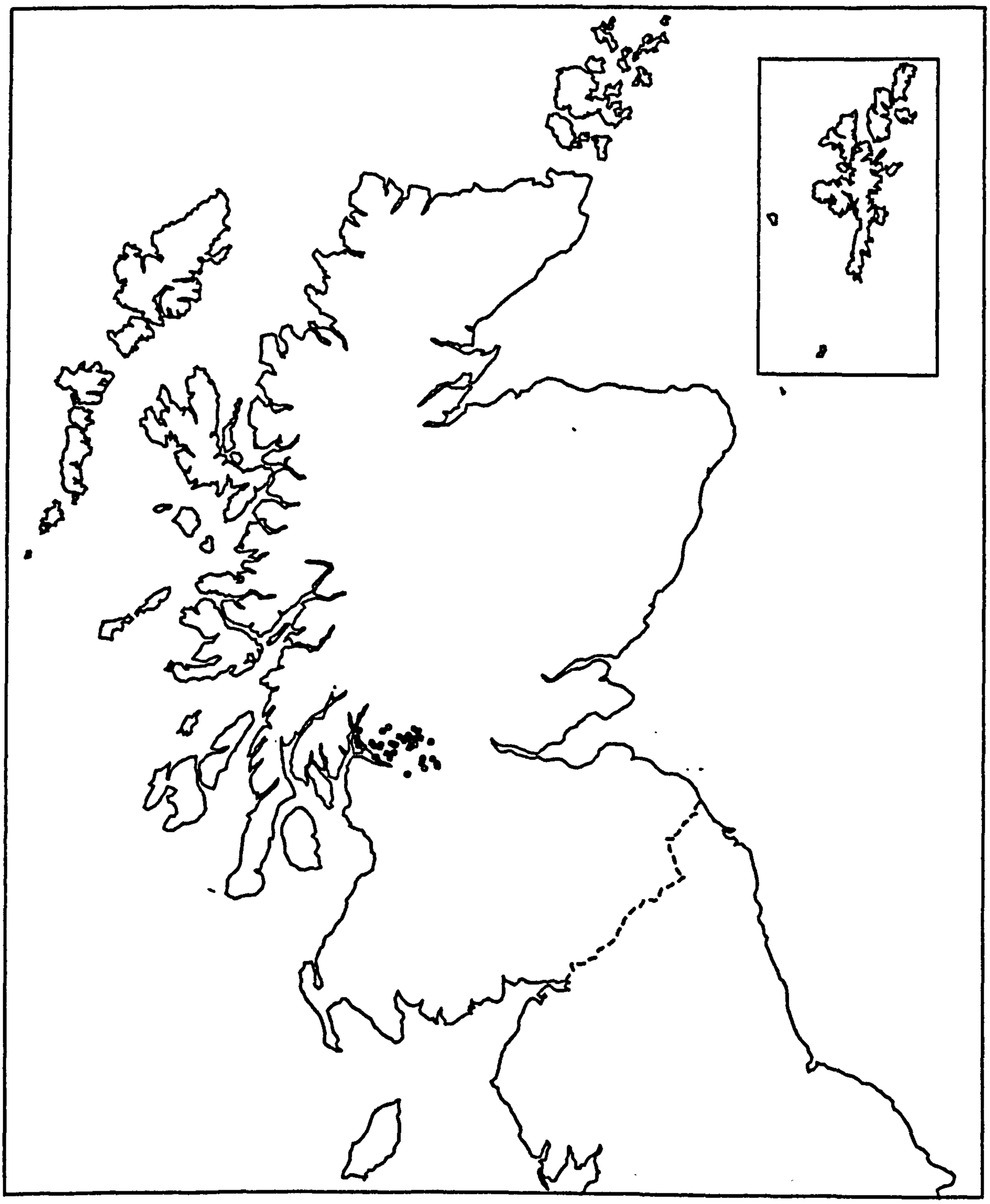
DISTRIBUTION OF OUNCELANDS/DAVACHS BEFORE 1600



Dots represent individual documentary references to ouncelands/ davachs (fractions of multiples thereof) in the west and ouncelands in Caithness before 1600. Ouncelands in the Northern Isles and treens in the Isle of Man are not represented.

APPENDIX VII

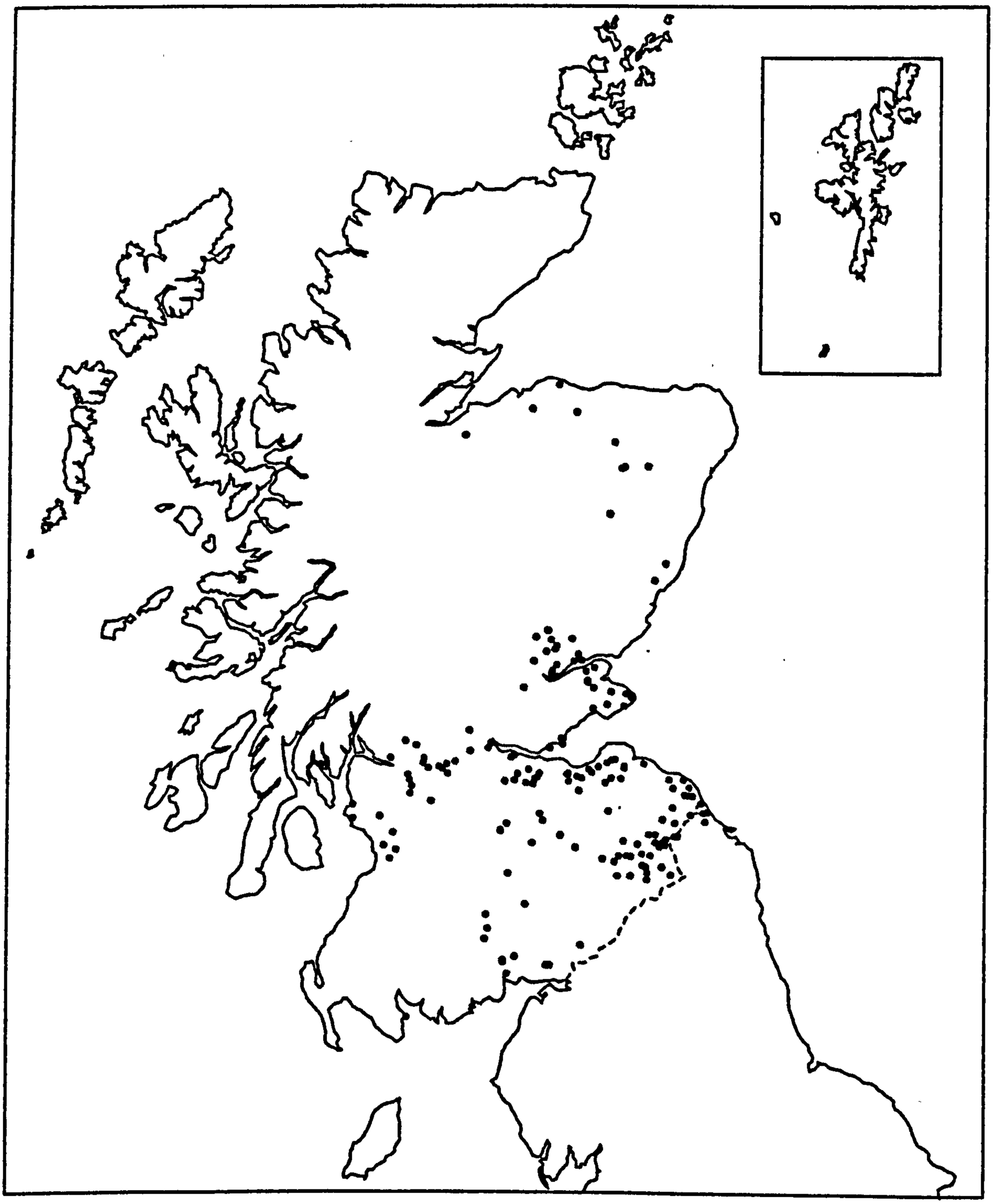
DISTRIBUTION OF ARACHORS BEFORE 1400



Dots represent individual documentary references to arachors (fractions or multiples thereof) before 1400. Open circles represent documentary references to ploughgates which were probably arachors.

APPENDIX VIII

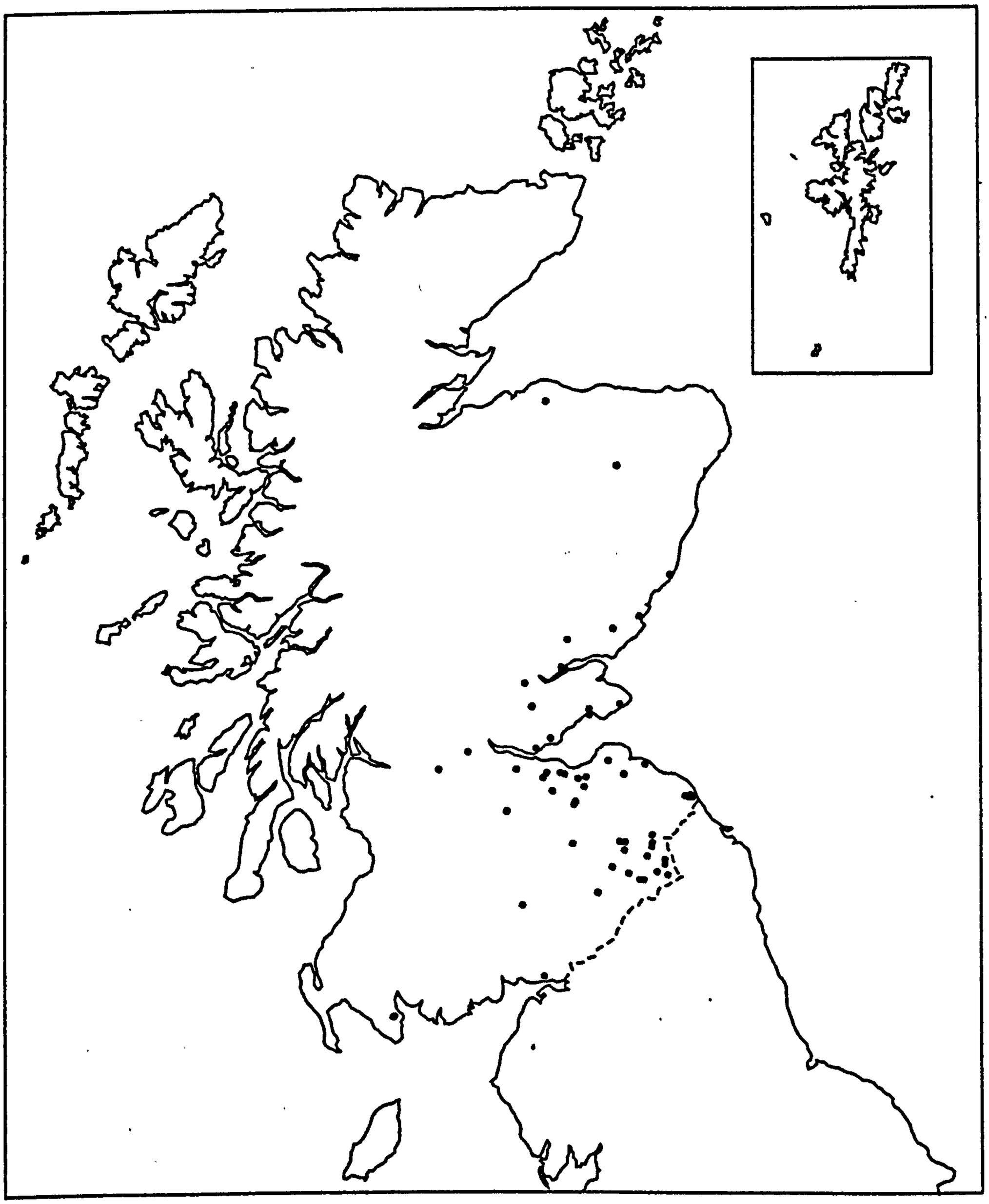
DISTRIBUTION OF PLOUGHGATES BEFORE 1400



Dots represent individual documentary references to ploughgates (fractions or multiples thereof) before 1400.

APPENDIX IX

DISTRIBUTION OF OXGANGS BEFORE 1400



Dots represent individual documentary references to oxgangs before 1400.

APPENDIX X

DAVACHS LISTED IN DOCUMENTARY SOURCES BEFORE 1400

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
(unid.)	Aberbrandely	Strathavon, Strathspey	½	1187 x 1203
NH 553.355	Aberbreachy	Inverness-shire	½	1334
NJ 628.528	Aberchirder	Banffshire	1	1214 x 18
NN 855.492	Aberfeldy	Atholl	½	c.1300
NH 980.135	Abernethy	Badenoch, Moray	½	1239
NH 554.355	Abriachan	Inverness-shire	½	1239
NJ 865.313	Achathaneve	Aberdeenshire	1/6	1244 x 60
(unid.)	Adthelnachorth	Moray	1	1203 x 24
NJ 291.449	Aikenway	Rothes, Moray	1	1224 x 42
NJ 577.161	Alford	C. Aberdeenshire	½	c.1211
NJ 035.527	Altyre	Moray	½	1239
NJ 507.624	Ardoch	Banffshire	⅓	1325
NH 940.870	Ardtarbard	Ross	1	1299 x 1311
NM 66.86	Arisaig	Arisaig	½	c.1320
NH 737.918	Asdale	Sutherland	1	1360
NC 10.21	Assynt	Assynt	4	1343
NJ 923.509	Aucheoch	Buchan	1	c.1214
NO 195.604	Auchinleish	Angus	½	1326 x 27
NO 739.761	Auchinzeoch	Mearns	1	1209 x 11
NH 735.744	Auchoyle	Ross	1	c.1372
NJ 385.283	Auckmair	Banffshire	½	1373
NJ 923.497	Autherbs	Buchan	1	c.1214
NO 638.732	Balbegno	Mearns	1	1209 x 11
(unid.)	Balcashy	Lintrathen, Angus	1	1250 x 56

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NO 515.045	Balcormo	Fife	1½	1270
NO 406.512	Ballindarg	Angus	1	1272
NO 667.664	Balmakewan	Mearns	1	1209 x 11
NO 807.709	Benholme	Mearns	½	1389
NH 928.847	Bindal	Ross	½	1299 x 1311
NH 505.295	Blair	Urquhart and Glenmoriston, Inverness-shire	½	1345
NJ 325.485	Boharm	Moray	1	1203 x 24
NH 512.224	Boleskine	Stratherrick, Inverness-shire	½	1226
NO 620.520	Bolshan	Angus	1	1204 x 11
NC 719.099	Braegrudie	Sutherland	1	1360
NN 300.810	Bray	Lochaber	1	1370
(unid.)	Brekkerethen		½	1234
(unid.)	Brenin	Strathavon, Strathspey	½	1187 x 1203
NO 437.187	Bruckly	Fife	½	1303
NJ 500.412	Bruiach	Moray	1	1203 x 24
NJ 398.309	Buntrait	Moray	1	1203 x 24
NJ 470.450	Butharry	Strathbogie	½	1226
ND 017.177	Caen	Sutherland	1	1360
NJ 500.661	Calruneleu	Banffshire	1½	1226
(unid.)	Carrecros	Inverness-shire	1	c.1239
(unid.)	Carrinbrogyn		1	1234
NO 652.443	Castleton	Angus	1	1372
NH 760.888	Ciderhall	Sutherland	6	1275
NO 286.540	Clintlaw	Angus	1	1250 x 56
NH 568.615	Clyne	Ross	2	1224 x 31
NJ 333.312	Comar	Moray	1	1203 x 24
NJ 056.266	Congash	Badenoch, Strathspey	1	1281 x 98

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NH 638.305	Contullich	Ross	1	1379
NJ 514.378	Conveth	Moray	2	1203 x 24
(unid.)	Conwiltes	Buchan	1	c.1214
NH 395.365	Conyr	Strathglass, Inverness-shire	½	1400
NH 644.887	Creich	Sutherland	½	1275
NH 385.325	Crochails	Strathglass, Inverness-shire	1	1400
NO 729.802	Culbac	Mearns	1	1189 x 95
NH 614.667	Culcairn	Ross	1	1372 x 82
NH 827.752	Cullisse	Ross	1	1398
NH 813.726	Culnaha	Ross	1	1299 x 1311
NJ 518.445	Cumrie	Strathbogie	½	1226
NH 753.878	Cuthildavach	Sutherland	1	1275
NJ 120.526	Dallas	Moray	½	1242
NH 865.065	Dalnavert	Badenoch	1	1336 x 72
(unid.)	Daskinnuchel	Strathavon, Strathspey	½	1187 x 1203
NH 720.394	Daviot	Inverness-shire	½	1234
NH 472.301	Delshangie	Urquhart and Glenmoriston, Inverness-shire	¼	1345
(unid.)	Desseven		2	1234
NH 922.203	Docharn	Badenoch	1	1299 x 1311
(unid.)	Donenald	Strathavon, Strathspey	½	1187 x 1203
NJ 515.428	Dounie	Moray	1	1203 x 24
NJ 487.349	Drumbulg	Strathbogie	½	1226
NJ 483.425	Drumdelgie	Strathbogie	½	1226
NJ 555.455	Dulbatelach (later Wardlaw)	Strathbogie	1	1203 x 24

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NH 790.469	Duldauy	Croy, Inverness-shire	½	1226
NJ 505.407	Dunbennan	Strathbogie	½	1226
NT 208.873	Dunearn	Fife	½	n.d.
NJ 164.183	Duninbride	Strathavon, Strathspey	½	1187 x 1203
(unid.)	Eastermuirach	Ross	½	1299 x 1311
NH 845.742	Easter Rarichie	Ross	4	1333
(unid.)	Edindynnet	Strathbogie	1	1306 x 29
NO 654.762	Endolach Bogendollo?		1	1209-11
NJ 410.408	Erchless	Moray	1	1203 x 24
NJ 462.277	Essie	Strathbogie	½	1226
NH 765.909	Evelix	Sutherland	2	1360
NH 734.646	Farnes	Cromarty	1	1275 x 92/5
(unid.)	Fearn	Strathbogie	3	1203 x 24
NJ 567.463	Fingask	Strathbogie	1	1203 x 24
(unid.)	Finlarg	Strathspey, Moray	3	1235
(unid.)	Fithelmore	Strathavon Strathspey	½	1187 x 1203
NH 587.643	Foulis	Easter Ross	1	1372 x 82
NH 698.550	Gallowhill	Ross	¾	1299 x 1311
NO 655.944	Gellan	Aberdeenshire	1	1361
NJ 462.392	Glass	Strathbogie	½	1226
NH 793.764	Glastullich	Ross	1	1299 x 1311
NG 82.17	Glenelg	Glenelg	8	c.1340
NO 719.806	Glenfarquhar	Mearns	1	1189 x 95
NJ 435.141	Glenkindie	Mar	1	c.1357
NN 883.674	Glentilt	Atholl	3	1342 x 57
NJ 245.205	Guisachan	Moray	1	1203 x 24

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
(unid.)	Hathkery and Tulicarri		1	1234
(unid.)	Herchill	Mar	1	1358
NO 645.494	Hodgeton	Angus	1	1372
(unid.)	Icthar Hathyn	Fife?	1	1187 x 97
(unid.)	Inchebrene	Urquhart and Glenmoriston, Inverness-shire	¾	1345
(unid.)	Inglistoun	Angus?	1	1306 x 29
NH 815.017	Insh	Badenoch, Moray	1	1224 x 33
NJ 173.372	Inveralden	Strathspey	½	1187 x 1203
NJ 185.364	Inveraven	Strathspey	1	1187 x 1203
(unid.)	Invercabok	Banffshire	2	1376
NH 835.051	Invereshie	Badenoch, Moray	1	1224 x 33
NH 423.171	Invermoriston	Urquhart and Glenmoriston, Inverness-shire	½	1345
NO 403.577	Inverquharity	Angus	1	1271
NH 594.655	Katewell	Ross	2	1281
NO 335.548	Kenny Muchardyn	Angus	1	1199
NH 655.485	Kessock	Inverness-shire	3	1228
(unid.)	Kethirelpy	Banffshire	1	1332
NH 576.514	Kilcoy	Ross	1	1299 x 1311
NJ 702.001	Kilduthie	Mearns	½	1359
NN 000.900	Kilmallie	Lochaber	½	1372
NF 72.74	Kilpeter	N. Uist	6¾	c.1320
NC 990.187	Kilphedir	Sutherland	2	1360
NH 496.438	Kiltarlity	Inverness-shire	½	1359
NH 980.135	Kincardine	Strathspey, Moray	½	1239
NO 600.996	Kincardine O'Neil	S. Aberdeen-shire	1	1250

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NO 436.444	Kincreich	Angus	1	1201
NT 107.283	Kingledoors	Tweeddale	1	1219
NO 743.799	Kinkell	Mearns	1	1189 x 95
NC 733.014	Kinnauld	Sutherland	2	1275
NH 874.093	Kinrara	Badenoch	1	1336 x 72
NH 00.29	Kintail	Kintail	10	1342
NO 675.924	Knock	Aberdeenshire	1	1361
NG 80.00	Knoydart	Knoydart	3	c.1320
(unid.)	Kyldreke		1	1357 x 62
(unid.)	Kyncarny	Moray	½	1232
NJ 550.435	Kynor	Strathbogie	½	1226
(unid.)	Kyref	Strathavon, Strathspey	½	1187 x 1203
NO 713.727	Lacherach Geigh Kenni [Haulker-ton?]	Mearns	1	1209 x 11
NN 614.944	Laggan	Badenoch, Moray	½	1239
NC 580.065	Lairg	Sutherland	4	1275
(unid.)	Lechdavauchfur	Ross	½	1299 x 1311
NJ 523.108	Leochel	C. Aberdeenshire	½	1228
(unid.)	Letheni	Strathavon, Strathspey	½	1187 x 1203
NO 479.449	Little Lour	Angus	1/5	1201
NN 100.905	Locharkaig	Lochaber	1½	1372
NH 440.293	Lochletter	Urquhart and Glenmoriston, Inverness-shire	¼	1345
NO 395.521	Logie	Angus	1	1272
NH 796.507	Lunan	Croy, Inverness-shire	1	1226
(unid.)	Lusnacorn	Strathbogie	1	1203 x 24

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
(unid.)	Martin	Strathavon, Strathspey	½	1187 x 1203
NH 778.745	Meddat	Ross	1	1372 x 82
NH 688.846	Meikle Daan	Ross	½	1350
NH 728.871	Meikle Ferry	Sutherland	¼	1360
NJ 980.205	Menie	Aberdeenshire	1	1327
NJ 855.375	Methlick	Aberdeenshire	½	1306 x 29
(unid.)	Michel	Strathavon, Strathspey	½	1187 x 1203
NH 633.923	Migdale	Sutherland	1	1275
NM 80.80	Moidart	Moidart	1½	c.1320
NO 745.790	Monboddo	Mearns	1	1189 x 95
NJ 557.439	Moniack	Strathbogie	1	1203 x 24
(unid.)	Monimor	Sutherland	2	1275
NJ 540.460	Moreweyn	Strathbogie	1	1203 x 24
NO 427.148	Morton of Blebo	Fife	⅓	1263
NH 633.714	Moultavie	Ross	1	1372 x 82
NH 491.547	Moy	Ross	½	1369
(unid.)	Neuechincrist	Strathavon, Strathspey	½	1187 x 1203
NO 697.597	Newbigging	Angus	½	1296 x 1320
NH 685.723	Newmore	Ross	1	1372 x 82
NO 439.175	Nydie	Fife	½	1303
NO 716.573	Old Montrose	Angus	½	1325
NH 540.506	Ouchter-Tarradale	Ross	½	c.1275
(unid.)	Owenes	Sutherland	1	1275
(unid.)	Petarsky	Sutherland	1	c.1350
(unid.)	Petmalchy	Mar	1	1358
NJ 531.442	Phoineas	Moray	1	1203 x 24
NT 085.865	Pitbauchlie	Fife	⅓	1306 x 29

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NH 773.763	Pitmaduthy	Ross	1	1350 x 71
NO 745.764	Pittengardner	Mearns	1	1221
NJ 135.575	Pluscarden	Moray	¼	1226
NH 773.924	Proncy	Sutherland	3	1275
NH 896.524	Rait	Nairnshire	½	1242
NH 738.929	Rearquhar	Sutherland	1	1275
NO 089.289	Redgorton	Perthshire	½	? x 1214
NJ 744.262	Rescivet	The Garioch, Aberdeenshire	1	1185 x 1219
NC 827.005	Rhives	Sutherland	6	1363
NG 35.00	Rhum and Eigg	Rhum	6	c.1320
NJ 498.272	Rhynie	Strathbogie	½	1226
NH 900.065	Rothiemurcus	Badenoch, Moray	6	1383
NJ 506.472	Ruthven	Strathbogie	½	1226
NH 737.893	Scelleboll	Sutherland	6	1275
NC 776.102	Sciberscross	Sutherland	1	1360
NO 734.737	Scotston	Mearns	½	1246
NJ 804.077	Skene	Aberdeenshire	½	1358
NK 046.302	Slains	Buchan	½	1315
NO 623.966	Sluie	S. Aberdeenshire	1	1250
NJ 150.250	Strathavon	Strathspey	1	1208 x 15
NH 620.911	Swordale	Sutherland	1	1275
NH 947.877	Tarbat	Ross	1	1299 x 1311
NO 726.822	Tipperty	Mearns	2	1189 x 95
NC 590.044	Torroboll	Sutherland	3	1275
(unid.)	Tulachtarum	Strathavon, Strathspey	½	1187 x 1203
NJ 854.320	Tillyhilt	Aberdeenshire	¼	1234
NO 071.607	Tullochcurran	Perthshire	1	1232

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
(unid.)	Upper Ros Abard	Aberdeenshire	2	1130s
NN 848.498	Weem	Atholl	2½	c.1300
NO 630.510	Westirbalblayn	Angus	1	1372
NJ 656.516	Westside of Carnousie	Banffshire	1	1328
(unid.)	Whychietoune and Ballan-dolache	Inverkeilor, Angus	5	1367

APPENDIX XI

DAVACH PLACE-NAMES

Ordnance Survey Map ref.	Davach place-name
NJ 425.367	Auchinhandoch
NJ 750.210	Backhill of Davah
NO 288.477	Balendoch
NJ 839.148	Bendauch
NJ 833.377	Crofts of Haddo
NX 706.537	Culdoach
NX 715.706	Culdoach
NH 755.435	Culdoich
NX 915.644	Cullendeugh
NX 508.975	Cullendoch Hill
NH 753.878	Cuthildavach
NT 205.862	Dalachy
NJ 507.477	Daugh
NJ 448.392	Daugh of Aswanley
NJ 455.418	Daugh of Cairnborrow
NJ 225.399	Daugh of Carron
NJ 400.311	Daugh of Corinacy
NJ 280.400	Daugh of Edinville
NJ 410.413	Daugh of Invermarkie
NJ 250.412	Daugh of Kinermony
NJ 009.390	Dava
NH 524.604	Davachmoluag
NJ 758.208	Davah
NO 774.738	Davo Mains
NJ 463.070	Davoch
NJ 475.514	Davoch of Grange
NC 722.016	Davochbeg
NH 524.600	Davochcarn
NH 776.892	Davochfin

Ordnance Survey Map ref.	Davach place-name
NH 521.601	Davochpollo
NX 794.579	Doach
NN 205.855	Dochanassie
NH 922.203	Docharn
NX 226.869	Docherniel
NH 600.394	Dochfour
NH 618.408	Dochgarroch
NN 856.113	Dochlewan
NH 512.597	Dochnaclear
NH 610.403	Dochnalurig
NX 232.793	Dochroyle
NO 350.624	Dodavo(e)
NX 326.977	Doughty
NX 097.574	Drumdoch
NJ 465.074	Easter Davoch
NN 908.277	Fendoch
NT 174.992	Findatie
NJ 465.677	Findochty
NJ 618.463	Haddo
NJ 826.384	Haddo
NO 747.735	Haddo
NK 082.572	Haddo
NJ 534.447	Haddoch
NJ 043.497	Halfdavoch Lodge
NH 528.615	Heights of Dochcarty
NS 400.038	Kildoach Hill
NX 955.631	Knockendoch
NJ 814.069	Leddachcroft
NJ 099.328	Lettoch
NJ 310.378	Lettoch
NH 517.488	Lettoch
NJ 025.194	Lettoch
NO 627.486	Lettoch

Ordnance Survey Map ref.	Davach place-name
NJ 836.146	Little Bendauch
NX 555.655	Little Cullendoch Moss
NH 675.838	Little Daan
NJ 507.472	Little Daugh
NJ 998.258	Little Haddo
NN 729.963	Loch an Dabhaich
NH 536.603	Lower Dochcarty
NJ 864.334	Mains of Haddo
NX 561.652	Meikle Cullendoch
NX 565.600	Meikle Cullendoch Moss
NH 687.848	Meikle Daan
NJ 755.388	Mid Haddo
NJ 623.470	Midtown of Haddo
NJ 800.160	Nether Daugh
NJ 613.474	Newton of Haddo
NJ 755.394	North Haddo
NO 676.757	Phesdo
NJ 755.382	South Haddo
NH 534.607	Upper Dochcarty

APPENDIX XII

PENNYLANDS LISTED IN DOCUMENTARY SOURCES BEFORE 1600

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NM 403.421	Abos	Ulva	1	1630
NG 863.100	Acha-a-ghlinn	Glenelg	10	1583
NM 654.454	Achabeg	Morvern	1	1493
NG 862.200	Achachchuirn	Glenelg	5	1583
NR 983.673	Achadachoun	Cowal	1	c.1295
NM 694.486	Achadh nam Gamhna	Morvern	3	1493
NM 813.393	Achadun	Lismore	2	1240
NM 683.465	Achafors	Morvern	3	1493
NR 782.776	Achahoish	Knapdale	½	1353
(unid.)	Achanahevill	Glenelg	5	1583
NM 700.504	Acharn	Morvern	1	1508
(unid.)	Achatydowling	Glenelg	5	1583
NM 892.328	Achavaich	Benderloch	1	1306 x 29
(unid.)	Achenfure	Benderloch	2	1306 x 29
NR 857.884	Achindarroch	Knapdale	¾	1353
NM 561.544	Achleanan	Morvern	6	1493 x 94
NM 945.365	Achnaba	Benderloch	5	1306 x 29
NS 137.852	Achnacloich	Cowal	¼	1322 x 32
NM 924.357	Achnacree	Benderloch	5	1306 x 29
NM 723.350	Achnacroish	Mull	1	1510
NM 644.456	Achnaha	Morvern	6	c.1495
NM 752.522	Achnatavish-ruskline	Morvern	2½	c.1495
NM 704.474	Achranich	Morvern	5	c.1495
(unid.)	Achyawale	Morvern	4	1493 x 94
NM 686.504	Agh Choire	Morvern	4	1493 x 94

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NM 998.299	Airdeny	Muckairn	6	1532
NM 843.496	Airigh Sham-raidh	Morvern	1	1508
(unid.)	Alchdnakelich	Benderloch	4	1306 x 29
NS 333.182	Alloway	Ayrshire	4	1323
NM 754.513	Altachonaich	Morvern	2½	1493 x 94
NS 068.592	Ambrisbeg	Bute	1	c.1321
(unid.)	Archowane	Loch Awe	1	1572
NM 450.350	Ard	Mull	2	1574
NM 375.194	Ardachy	Mull	1	1587 x 88
NM 372.193	Ardalanish	Mull	2	1587 x 88
NM 437.402	Ardalum	Ulva	1	1630
NM 389.197	Ardchiavaig	Mull	½	1587 x 88
NM 742.333	Ardchoirk	Mull	1	1510
NM 423.238	Ardchrishnish	Mull	1	1510
NM 347.233	Ardfenaig	Mull	2	1587 x 88
NM 998.314	Ardagaw	Muckairn	10	1532
NM 738.113	Ardlarach	Luing	2	c.1495
(unid.)	Ardnadhrogit	Mull	1	1510
NM 964.329	Ardnaskie	Muckairn	5	1532
(unid.)	Ardnesaleyne	Mull	1	1493
NM 661.450	Ardness	Morvern	6	1493
NM 772.946	Ardnoe	Knapdale	1	1353
(unid.)	Ardowran	Cowal(?)	4	1306 x 29
NM 395.225	Ardtun	Mull	5	1587 x 88
(unid.)	Ardually	Mull	½	1510
NM 435.504	Aremelkeyne	Mull	1½	1510
NM 355.522	Areyne	Mull	2	1510
NR 775.908	Arichondri	Knapdale	1	1353
NM 689.515	Arienas	Morvern	1	1493

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NM 791.931	Ariluig	Knapdale	1	1353
NG 845.104	Arnisdale	Glenelg	10	1583
(unid.)	Arydermeile	Kintyre	1	1329
NR 947.685	Asgog	Cowal	5	1240
NM 401.212	Assapol	Mull	1	1587 x 88
NR 852.839	Atichuan	Knapdale	½	1353
(unid.)	Attygar	Buts	5	c.1321
NN 025.213	Auchachenna	Loch Awe	4	1432
(unid.)	Auchaich	Lorn	1	1449
NS 021.814	Auchenbreck	Cowal	1	1240
NS 257.007	Auchennaich	Ayrshire	1	1324
NS 452.061	Auchenroy	Ayrshire	1	1244
NX 258.931	Auchensoul	Carrick	5	1260
(unid.)	Auchenpollane	Loch Awe	1	1572
NN 032.033	Auchindrain	Glassary	1	1410
(unid.)	Auchindryne	Loch Awe	1	1572
NM 954.342	Auchnacloich	Benderloch	1	1306 x 29
NM 926.311	Auchnacoshan	Muckairn	6	1532
NM 727.334	Auchnacraig	Mull	2	1510
NM 792.191	Auchnasaul	Loch Awe	1	1572
NR 864.904	Auchoish	Glassary	1	1410
(unid.)	Auchtirbrydane	Loch Awe	1	1572
(unid.)	Auchtycht	Morvern	2½	1493 x 94
ND 364.643	Auckingill	Caithness	2	1549
NS 338.220	Ayr	Ayrshire	5	1165 x 1214
NM 057.387	Bagh na Dalach	Lorn	2	1541
NM 285.245	Bailemor	Mull	4	1587 x 88
NS 247.114	Balchriston	Ayrshire	2½	1324

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NM 393.417	Baligortan	Ulva	1	1630
NM 984.304	Balindore	Muckairn	7	1532
NF 725.734	Ballimartine	N. Uist	2	1449
(unid.)	Ballimenich	Loch Awe	1	1572
(unid.)	Ballostalfis	Kintyre	1	1329
NM 448.332	Balmeanach	Mull	1	1574
NM 453.343	Balnahard	Mull	1	1574
NM 847.419	Balnasack	Lismore	1	1240
NM 657.256	Barachandroman	Mull	½	1493
NM 832.065	Barbreck	Loch Awe	1	1572
NM 998.297	Barguillean	Muckairn	4½	1532
(unid.)	Barkachglin	Carrick	2	1306 x 29
NM 884.263	Barnacarye	Benderloch	3	1306 x 29
(unid.)	Barnawfrane	Mull	2	1510
NM 836.073	Barnlaunich	Loch Awe	1	1572
NX 276.943	Barr	Carrick	¼	1316 x 18
NM 617.560	Barr	Morvern	5	1493 x 94
NM 836.207	Barrachrail	Lorn	2	1338
(unid.)	Barrandayb	Knapdale	½	1507 x 08
NR 967.947	Barr-liath	Glassary	1	1410
NS 348.065	Barskelly	Ayrshire	1	c.1385
(unid.)	Bartenonade		1	1306 x 29
(unid.)	Barworne	Loch Awe	1	1572
NM 018.437	Baugh	Tiree	1	1572
NM 463.237	Beach	Mull	2	1587 x 88
NM 348.185	Bearnas	Mull	1	1587 x 88
NM 396.414	Bearnus	Ulva	½	1600
(unid.)	Bedich	Mull	½	1390

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NM 962.261	Beinn Ghlas	Muckairn	5	1532
NR 804.923	Bellanoch	Knapdale	1	1353
NS 378.046	Bennan	Carrick	1	1316 x 18
NG 862.201	Beolary	Glenelg	10	1583
NS 468.039	Berbeth	Carrick	1	1404
(unid.)	Bercorari	Knapdale	¼	1353
NM 794.393	Bernera	Lismore	3	1240
NM 613.343	Bhradhadail	Mull	1	1493
(unid.)	Blairnatibrade	Knapdale	½	1507 x 08
NM 858.173	Blaran	Lorn	1	1449
(unid.)	Blarekanne-Neyle	Carrick	1	1370 x 80
NM 673.933	Bourblach	Glenelg	10	1583
NG 35.39	Bracadale	Skye	20	1585
NR 853.873	Brackly	Knapdale	¾	1353
NM 548.283	Breac Achadh	Mull	½	1493
(unid.)	Brenfeorline	Knapdale	1	1353
ND 045.715	Brims	Caithness	13½	1581
NM 383.217	Bunessan	Mull	3½	1587 x 88
NM 425.274	Burgh	Mull	1	1390
NM 046.370	Cadderlie	Lorn	1	1541
NM 377.516	Calgary	Mull	1½	1510
NM 357.541	Caliach	Mull	1	1510
NM 592.423	Callachally	Mull	1	1493
NM 601.250	Cameron	Mull	1	1493
(unid.)	Cammys	Mull	1	1493
NM 861.527	Camusnacroise	Morvern	1	1508
NS 353.178	Carcluie	Ayrshire	5	1323
(unid.)	Carmudeborge		1	1324

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NG 303.439	Caroy	Skye	2	1573
NM 542.218	Carsaig	Mull	½	1493
NM 588.241	Carvalge	Mull	1	1561
NM 825.554	Ceann na Coille	Morvern	1	1508
(unid.)	Chowour	Mull	½	1493
NM 385.534	Cillchriosd	Mull	1	1510
NM 708.058	Cill Mhoire	Scarba	1	1493
NM 897.557	Cilmalieu	Morvern	1	1493
NM 567.366	Clachaig	Mull	2	1574
NM 842.080	Clachaig	Loch Awe	1	1572
NM 786.194	Clachan	Loch Awe	1	1572
(unid.)	Clachilan	Arran	1	1433
NM 699.498	Claggan	Morvern	1	1508
NM 945.325	Clais Dhearg	Muckairn	5	1532
NS 046.334	Clauchlands	Arran	1	c.1353
NM 475.889	Cleddale	Eigg	5	1498
(unid.)	Clenakheth	Ayrshire	1	1324
NM 924.286	Clenamaerie	Muckairn	10	1532
NM 751.522	Clounlaid	Morvern	3½	1493
ND 28.37	Clyth	Caithness	24	c.1467
NN 022.211	Coillaig	Loch Awe	2	1432
(unid.)	Colelarne	Lorn	1	1449
(unid.)	Collecharran	Ulva	½	1630
NS 132.849	Corarsik	Cowal	½	1322 x 32
NM 454.413	Corchamore	Mull	1½	1510
NM 834.059	Corlach	Loch Awe	1	1572
(unid.)	Cormawin	Morvern	2½	1493
NM 613.396	Corrachadh	Mull	1	1493

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NG 824.172	Corrary	Glenelg	10	1583
NM 836.522	Corry	Morvern	1	1508
NS 484.217	Corselet	Ayrshire	1	1329 x 71
NS 353.178	Corton	Ayrshire	5	1323
NM 405.390	Cragaig	Ulva	1	1630
NS 268.999	Craggan	Lochgoilhead	¼	1398
NR 773.879	Craiglin	Knapdale	1	1353
NM 961.163	Craignamoraig	Loch Awe	1	1432
(unid.)	Cragnamoychenache	Lorn	½	1338
(unid.)	Cragtharsnite	Cowal	¼	1322 x 32
NR 948.998	Creag an-lubhair	Cowal	½	1240
NM 315.245	Creich	Mull	½	1587 x 88
(unid.)	Cronaik	Morvern	1	1508
NM 573.226	Cronygard	Mull	2	1587 x 88
NM 721.543	Cros ben	Morvern	1	1493
NL 997.433	Crossapoll	Tiree	1	1493
(unid.)	Cross Gillesbuig	Glassary	1	c.1355
NS 276.084	Crossraguel	Ayrshire	5	1324
NM 915.394	Culcharan	Lorn	2	1479
NM 398.418	Culinish	Ulva	1	1630
NM 947.333	Culnadalloch	Muckairn	7	1532
(unid.)	Culschogill		1	1306 x 29
NM 969.127	Dalavich	Loch Awe	5	1375
(unid.)	Dalekelir	Loch Awe	1	1572
NS 383.019	Dalmorton	Ayrshire	1½	1363
NX 322.963	Dalquhairn	Carrick	1	1316 x 18
NS 281.022	Dalquharran	Ayrshire	1	1324
(unid.)	Darenager	Cowal	1	1309 x 25

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
(unid.)	Debedell	Mull	1	1493
(unid.)	Delrenache	Carrick	1	1329 x 71
(unid.)	Dencleache	Carrick	4	1329 x 71
NS 147.822	Dergachie	Cowal	½	1322 x 32
(unid.)	Dernglek	Cowal (?)	1	1306 x 29
NM 491.355	Derryguaig	Mull	2	1574
NM 567.294	Derrynaculen	Mull	½	1493
NM 429.521	Dervaig	Mull	1	1510
NM 416.518	Doischoring	Mull	1½	1510
(unid.)	Donarchualfe	Carrick	5	1326
(unid.)	Downamannane	Loch Awe	1	1572
NM 698.268	Drimnatain	Mull	1	1493
NM 554.551	Drimnin	Morvern	6	1493 x 94
(unid.)	Drowmynturne	Muckairn	9	1532
NM 873.533	Druim na Maodalaich	Morvern	1	1508
(unid.)	Drumchulochir	Lismore	1	1240
NM 898.164	Druimnashallag	Lorn	1	1449
(unid.)	Drumfin	Knapdale	1	1353
(unid.)	Drumgarne	Mull	1	1510
(unid.)	Drummozier	Carrick	1	1306 x 29
(unid.)	Drumpullen		½	1306 x 29
NM 798.207	Duachy	Loch Awe	1	1572
NM 908.136	Duaig	Lorn	1	1414
NM 712.487	Dubh Dhoire	Morvern	½	1493 x 94
NR 844.924	Dunamuck	Knapdale	1	1353
NR 806.905	Dunans	Knapdale	½	1353
(unid.)	Dundrome	Ayrshire	1	1306 x 29
NM 936.151	Duninveran	Lorn	1	1414

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
ND 195.564	Dunn	Caithness	7	1538
ND 219.713	Dunnet	Caithness	6½	1538
NM 854.316	Dunollie	Benderloch	1	1306 x 29
NX 865.845	Dunscore	Nithsdale	1	1236
NM 976.282	Duntanachan	Muckairn	4½	1532
NM 667.523	Durinemast	Morvern	1	1493 x 94
NM 305.175	Eilean a'Chal-main	Mull	½	1587 x 88
NM 444.177	Eilean an Daraich	Mull	½	1587 x 88
NM 867.166	Eleraig	Lorn	1	1449
(unid.)	Elliock	Galloway	1	1306 x 29
(unid.)	Elvarie	Knapdale	1	1353
(unid.)	Eningart	Mull	½	1574
NM 361.489	Ensay	Mull	2	1510
NM 488.378	Eorsa	Mull	½	1574
NR 948.865	Evanachan	Cowal	5	1240
NM 421.444	Fanmore	Mull	2	1510
NM 936.310	Farnicht	Muckairn	6	1532
(unid.)	Fekyrfaltach	Lorn	1	1338
NM 920.404	Ferlochan	Lorn	5	1321 x 22
NN 006.201	Fernoch	Loch Awe	5	1432
NM 443.397	Ferrineynardo	Ulva	¾	1630
(unid.)	Forling linach	Carrick	1	1329 x 71
ND 037.578	Forsyfur	Caithness	4½	1538
NM 384.515	Frachadil	Mull	1½	1510
(unid.)	Fynchenis	Mull	1	1493
(unid.)	Fynglennan	Cowal (?)	1	1306 x 29
NS 412.225	Gadgirth	Ayrshire	2½	1302 x 4

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NM 609.387	Gaodhail	Mull	1	1493
(unid.)	Garbech	Cowal (?)	1	1306 x 29
(unid.)	Garcowaell	Cowal (?)	1	1306 x 29
NM 685.257	Garmonereach	Mull	½	1493
NM 668.404	Garmony	Mull	1	1493
NS 092.885	Garrachra	Cowal	¼	1322 x 32
(unid.)	Garwpennynge	Lorn	1	1338
NM 668.843	Gedevall	Arisaig	5	1309
(unid.)	Gelachcarchen	Cowal (?)	4	1306 x 29
(unid.)	Gereag	Cowal (?)	6	1306 x 29
(unid.)	Gersmaleyis	Ayrshire	20	1596
ND 122.594	Gerston	Caithness	1½	1538
(unid.)	Geyle	Lismore	1½	1304
(unid.)	Gilsaad	Mull	1	1574
NM 384.413	Glacgallon	Ulva	1	1630
NM 337.469	Glaichugare	Mull	1	1510
NM 925.319	Glaswilder	Mull	1	1587 x 88
NX 084.758	Glen App	Galloway	½	1306 x 29
NM 716.853	Glen Beasdale	Arisaig	5	1309
NG 371.396	Glen Bracadale	Skye	5	1573
NM 583.236	Glenbyre	Mull	1	1493
(unid.)	Glencagidubur-gilli	Knapdale	1	1353
NM 587.357	Glencannel	Mull	1	1510
(unid.)	Glencha	Cowal	1	1309 x 25
(unid.)	Glencomach	Lorn	1	1479
NN 038.488	Glen Crevan	Lorn	1	1541
NN 243.057	Glencroe	Lochgoilhead	¼	1398

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NM 872.303	Glen Cruitten	Benderloch	6	1306 x 29
NS 114.725	Glenfynport	Cowal	½	1240
NM 472.473	Glenmacquarrie	Mull	1	1630
NR 925.706	Glennane	Cowal	5	1240
(unid.)	Glentall	Carrick	1	1404
NM 374.398	Golisarimoir	Ulva	1	1630
NR 931.921	Gortanronach	Glassary	1	1410
NF 755.755	Griminish	N. Uist	4	1449
NM 543.402	Gruline	Mull	2	1493
NM 447.848	Grulin Iochdrach	Eigg	5	1498
NM 465.837	Grulin Uachdrach	Eigg	10	1498
ND 238.611	Halcro	Caithness	3	1593
ND 198.677	Harland	Caithness	2	1538
NG 277.455	Heribost	Skye	14	1573
NM 545.217	Inagairt	Mull	½	1493
NN 076.727	Inchgerran	Morvern	1	1508
NN 022.317	Inerawe	Benderloch	3	1321 x 22
NM 879.167	Innis	Lorn	1	1449
NM 987.356	Inveresragan	Lorn	3	1541
NM 998.177	Inverinan	Loch Awe	5	1432
NS 098.879	Invermassan	Cowal	¼	1322 x 32
NR 841.811	Inverneil	Knapdale	1	1353
(unid.)	Juredill	Mull	½	1493
(unid.)	Kailtrene	Mull	½	1493
NR 973.714	Kames	Cowal	1	c.1295
NM 522.410	Kellan	Mull	1	1587 x 88
(unid.)	Kenechane	Ayrshire	1	c.1370
NM 602.417	Kilbeg	Mull	1	1493
NM 439.428	Kilbrenan	Mull	1	1561

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NS 011.952	Kilbride	Cowal	1	1314
NR 931.505	Kilbride	Arran	1	1492
NL 953.473	Kilchaine	Tiree	1	1510
NX 228.832	Kildonan	Galloway	1	c.1507
NR 848.857	Kilduskland	Knapdale	½	1353
NR 690.123	Kilewan	Kintyre	1	1329
NM 543.414	Killchronan	Mull	1	1587 x 88
(unid.)	Killerenache	Carrick	4	1329 x 71
NN 006.309	Killespik-kerrell	Muckairn	10	1532
(unid.)	Killichaffie	Galloway	1	1306 x 29
NM 488.397	Killiemor	Mull	1	1587 x 88
NM 507.296	Killiemore	Mull	½	1493
NM 492.256	Killunaig	Mull	1	1510
NM 934.346	Kilmaronag	Muckairn	15	1532
NR 773.858	Kilmichael	Knapdale	5	1240
NM 887.249	Kilmore	Benderloch	2	1306 x 29
NM 455.479	Kilmorie	Mull	1	1510
NR 868.867	Kilmory	Knapdale	1	1230 x 46
NM 973.144	Kilmun	Lorn	1	1414
NM 399.459	Kilninian	Mull	1	1587 x 88
NM 414.234	Kilpatrick	Mull	1	1510
NM 522.417	Kilphobull	Mull	1	1587 x 88
NM 983.318	Kiltinaise	Muckairn	5	1532
NG 383.698	Kilvaxter	Skye	10	1571
NM 412.206	Kilvickeon	Mull	4	1587 x 88
NM 453.350	Kilwannoyer	Mull	1	1574
NM 587.494	Kinbaldane	Morvern	1	1508

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NM 436.486	Kingharair	Mull	1	1587 x 88
NM 693.475	Kinlochaline	Morvern	3	c.1495
NN 297.052	Kinlochlong	Lochgoilhead	¼	1398
NR 932.506	Kinlochranza	Arran	1	1433
NM 655.263	Kinlochspelve	Mull	1	1493
NX 880.870	Kirkbride	Dumfriesshire	2	c.1319
(unid.)	Kirkcrochir	Loch Awe	1	1572
NR 920.903	Knock	Glassary	1	1410
NM 544.388	Knock	Mull	2	1574
NM 681.457	Knock	Morvern	2	1493
NR 917.970	Knockalava	Glassary	1	c.1315
NS 334.007	Knockinculloch	Carrick	½	1315 x 21
NM 478.295	Knockroy	Mull	2	1493
(unid.)	Knokeltnok	Eigg	3	1498
(unid.)	Knokingulran		½	1306 x 29
NM 369.199	Knoknafenaig	Mull	1	1587 x 88
(unid.)	Knoktaytorlat	Mull	1	1587 x 88
(unid.)	Kowillay	Mull	1	1493
NM 911.561	Laach	Morvern	6	1508
NS 159.914	Lachanmore	Cowal	¼	1322 x 32
NM 627.239	Lagan	Mull	2	1493
(unid.)	Laggan	Knapdale	1	1353
NM 836.067	Laggandarrach	Loch Awe	1	1572
NM 847.203	Lagganmore	Lorn	1	1338
NS 315.195	Laicht	Ayrshire	¼	1324
NM 467.877	Laig	Eigg	9	1498
NS 384.224	Laigland	Ayrshire	2½	1302 x 4
NM 265.215	Larairchean	Mull	1	1587 x 88

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
(unid.)	Larglanfield	Galloway	5	1329
(unid.)	Laruch	Lochgoilhead	½	1398
NM 749.598	Laudale	Morvern	1	1508
(unid.)	Laychtyrdill	Mull	1	1493
NR 786.921	Leachnaban	Knapdale	1	1353
NM 407.220	Lee	Mull	2	1587 x 88
(unid.)	Lergnahunsheon	Knapdale	½	1353
NN 253.914	Letterfinlay	Lochaber	5	1563 x 64
(unid.)	Letternanalla	Benderloch	2	1306 x 29
(unid.)	Lettir-arnacreill	Mull	1	1493
NR 934.794	Lindsaig	Cowal	2	1309 x 25
(unid.)	Lobri		1	1306 x 29
(unid.)	Lochane	Cowal (?)	1	1306 x 29
NM 792.556	Lochuisge	Morvern	1	1508
NM 708.093	Lunga	Morvern	1	1493
NM 908.333	Lyalt	Muckairn	5	1532
NM 689.977	Mallaigbeg	Morar	10	1583
NM 691.978	Mallaigmore	Morar	10	1583
NM 715.034	Maol Buidhe	Scarba	1	c.1495
NG 808.118	Mhialairidh	Glenelg	5	1583
NX 172.906	Millenderdale	Carrick	5	1306 x 29
NR 915.945	Monenyernich	Glassary	1	c.1315
NM 621.252	Moy	Mull	1	1493
ND 286.583	Myrelandhorn	Caithness	3½	c.1603
NM 921.146	Narrachan	Lorn	1	1414
(unid.)	Nyndraste	Morvern	1	1508
NR 774.887	Oibmore	Knapdale	½	1353
ND 185.664	Olrig	Caithness	2	c.1603

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NM 422.386	Ormaig	Ulva	½	1630
ND 109.677	Ormlie	Caithness	3	1586
NM 444.237	Ormsaig	Mull	1	1510
NM 456.402	Oskamull	Mull	1	1510
(unid.)	Penig Corthen	Argyll	1	1240
NM 403.528	Penmore	Mull	½	1510
NM 504.259	Pennycross	Mull	1	1510.
NM 517.260	Pennyghael	Mull	1	1510
NM 599.428	Pennygown	Mull	1	1493
(unid.)	Pennyng-Scanghache	Lismore	1	1304
NM 313.227	Poit na h-I	Mull	1½	1587 x 88
NM 880.162	Pollinduich	Lorn	1	1449
NS 473.163	Polquhairn	Ayrshire	2½	1302 x 4
NS 257.034	Quarrel	Ayrshire	1	1324
NM 830.206	Raera	Lorn	5	1338
NM 367.463	Reudle	Mull	1½	1510
NR 842.947	Rhudil	Cowal	2½	1240
NR 694.807	Riventos	Knapdale	3	c.1290
NM 543.279	Rossal	Mull	1	1493
NM 613.474	Salachan	Morvern	1	1508
NM 388.233	Salachran	Mull	1	1587 x 88
NM 477.846	Sandavore	Eigg	5	1498
NM 398.204	Saorphin	Mull	2	1587 x 88
NM 698.383	Scallastle	Mull	1	1493
NM 527.382	Scarisdale	Mull	1	1574
NM 972.144	Schalochane	Loch Awe	5	1375
NM 438.193	Schiaba	Mull	4	1587 x 88

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NS 386.056	Sclenteuch	Ayrshire	1	c.1385
NM 468.272	Scobull	Mull	1	1493
NF 728.754	Scolpaig	N. Uist	2	1449
NM 418.190	Scoor	Mull	1½	1587 x 88
ND 092.702	Scrabster	Caithness	9½	1581
(unid.)	Seskamousky	Kintyre	1	1329
NR 883.847	Shirven	Argyll	10	1306 x 29
NR 912.299	Shisken	Arran	5	c.1393
(unid.)	Siuilde	Ayrshire	5	1302 x 4
ND 02.67	Skiall	Caithness	31½	1538
NR 885.575	Skipness	Kintyre	1	1263
NM 983.303	Skoull	Muckairn	3	1532
NM 519.263	Skyndane	Mull	1	1587 x 88
NM 834.066	Slewgane	Loch Awe	1	1572
(unid.)	Slysmoynd	Glengarry	20	1539
NM 427.404	Soriby	Ulva	¾	1630
(unid.)	Sowecomyll	Mull	1½	1493
(unid.)	Sponnaspune	Cowal	¼	1322 x 32
NM 750.520	Sion	Morvern	2½	c.1495
ND 281.608	Stanstill	Caithness	2½	1593
(unid.)	Strengchroschian	Cowal	1	1306 x 29
NR 779.888	Strone	Knapdale	½	1240
NN 206.843	Stronenaba	Lochaber	5	1563 x 64
(unid.)	Stronghartan	Lochgoilhead	¼	1398
NM 908.295	Strontoiller	Benderloch	1	1306 x 29
(unid.)	Subamster	Caithness	1	1581
NN 296.053	Succoth	Lochgoilhead	¼	1398

NC Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NS 409.207	Sundrum	Ayrshire	2½	1302 x 4
NM 372.538	Sunipol	Mull	1	1510
(unid.)	Suthbarne	Ayrshire	1	1324
(unid.)	Syvild		1	1306 x 29
NM 435.274	Tavoall	Mull	1	1493
NM 513.453	Teange	Mull	½	1574
NM 848.423	Teirlagane	Lismore	2	1240
NN 081.261	Terivadin	Loch Awe	5	1375
(unid.)	Thoncormaigh	Mull	2	1510
NM 866.429	Tirefour	Lismore	1	1304
NM 336.185	Tir Fhearagain	Mull	2	1587 x 88
NM 352.225	Tirghoil	Mull	1	1588 x 88
NM 478.278	Tiroran	Mull	1½	1493
NM 907.287	Torinturk	Loch Awe	3	1306 x 29
NM 417.458	Torloiske	Mull	1	1510
NM 483.251	Torrans	Mull	3	1510
(unid.)	Toslebeg	Mull	½	1493
NM 389.457	Tortarie	Mull	1	1510
NS 438.219	Trabboch	Ayrshire	5	1302 x 4
NM 356.487	Treahnish	Mull	4	c.1495
(unid.)	Trevercraigs	Carrick	1	1316 x 18
NS 376.093	Troquhain	Ayrshire	1	c.1370
NM 842.079	Turnalt	Loch Awe	5	1572
(unid.)	Tyrchulen	Lismore	5	1240
NM 390.200	Uisken	Mull	1	1587 x 88
NM 708.504	Uladail	Morvern	3	c.1495
NM 549.302	Ulwach	Mull	6½	1390
NM 665.508	Unibeg	Morvern	2	1493
NS 039.643	Upper Ardrosca-dale	Bute	5	c.1321

APPENDIX XIII

PEIGHINN/PENNYLAND PLACE-NAMES

Ordnance Survey Map Ref.	Peighinn/Pennyland place-name
NR 980.245	Aucheleffan
NR 841.811	Brenfeorline
NX 057.557	Colfin
NX 297.977	Corphin
NX 497.547	Daffin
NR 797.375	Dippin
NS 047.225	Dippin
NX 240.942	Dupin
NS 249.028	Farden
NX 194.837	Farden
NX 193.931	Fardendew
NX 205.864	Fardenreoch
NS 368.113	Fardenwilliam
NX 874.877	Fardingjames
NS 815.044	Fardingmullach
NX 921.829	Farthingwell
NS 237.919	Feorlinebreck
NM 920.404	Ferlochan
NB 407.560	Five Penny Borve
NB 525.647	Five Penny Ness
NS 690.008	Fortypenny Hill
NH 810.943	Fourpenny
NX 347.000	Garleffin
NS 324.073	Garpin

Ordnance Survey Map Ref.	Peighinn/Pennyland place-name
NS 805.284	Glespin
NS 850.013	High Farthingbank
NS 311.154	High Pinmore
NS 142.821	Leffin Donald
NS 269.076	Leffinwyne
NR 664.084	Lephenstrath
NC 176.496	Lephin
NR 788.358	Lephincorrach
NS 312.151	Low Pinmore
NX 199.916	Meikle Lettirpin
NR 908.289	North Feorline
NC 425.586	Peinaha
NF 767.523	Peinavalla
NC 526.336	Peinchorran
NC 402.716	Peingown
NC 414.585	Peinlick
NC 422.489	Peinmore
NC 480.408	Peinmore
NF 773.546	Peinylodden
NX 060.755	Penderry
NC 487.417	Penifiler
NF 743.347	Peninerine
NR 759.249	Peninver
NX 233.986	Penkill
NX 482.479	Penkiln
NM 403.528	Penmore
NS 482.041	Pennyarthur rig

Ordnance Survey Map Ref.	Peighinn/Pennyland place-name
NM 504.259	Pennycross
NS 526.204	Pennyfadzeoch
NM 872.321	Pennyfuir
NM 518.260	Pennyghael
NS 270.108	Pennyglen
NR 691.144	Pennygown
NO 109.688	Pennyland
NO 248.533	Pennyland
NX 937.880	Pennyland
NR 710.097	Pennyland Mill
NS 488.219	Pennymore
NN 048.007	Pennymore
NR 713.077	Pennysearach
NR 876.447	Penrioch
NX 565.635	Penwhaile
NX 265.970	Penwhapple
NX 105.697	Penwhirn
NX 296.958	Pinannot
NX 150.920	Pinbain Hill
NX 320.910	Pinbreck Hill
NX 232.913	Pinclanty
NX 380.870	Pindonnan
NX 196.937	Pinmacher
NS 347.112	Pinmerry
NX 241.949	Pinmery
NX 188.939	Pinminnoch
NX 026.547	Pinminnoch

Ordnance Survey Map Ref,	Peighinn/Pennyland place-name
NX 204.900	Pinmore
NX 325.945	Pinmullan
NX 326.951	Pinvalley
NX 335.982	Pinverains
NX 198.867	Pinwherry
NX 780.948	Pinzarie
NM 398.204	Saorphin
NR 904.283	South Feorline

Note: This is not an exhaustive treatment of these place-names.

APPENDIX XIV

OUNCELANDS/DAVACHS NAMED IN DOCUMENTARY SOURCES BEFORE 1600

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NS 863.100	Ache-à-ghlinn	Glenelg	½	1583
NS 862.200	Achachchuirn	Glenelg	¼	1583
(unid.)	Achanahevill	Glenelg	¼	1583
(unid.)	Achatydowling	Glenelg	¼	1583
(obsolete)	Achich	Lochalsh	½	1548
NG 842.388	Achintraid	Kishorn	1	1548
NG 857.337	Achmore		½	1548
NH 504.388	Achnacloich	Inverness-shire	1	c.1508
NG 808.307	Achnahinich	Lochalsh	½	1548
NG 840.276	Achtaytoralan	Lochalsh	¼	1548
(unid.)	Alie	Glenelg	¼	1583
NG 834.354	Ardaneaskan	Kishorn	1	1548
NG 873.270	Ardelve	Lochalsh	¼	1548
(unid.)	Ardmarrach	Lochalsh	¼	1548
(unid.)	Ardnagald	Kishorn	1	1548
NG 845.104	Arniedale	Glenelg	½	1583
(unid.)	Arychernachan	Glenelg	¼	1583
NG 926.392	Attadale	Lochcarron	½	1548
(unid.)	Auchbane	Kishorn	1	1548
(obsolete)	Auchecroy	Lochalsh	½	1548
NH 192.806	Auchindrean	Lochbroom	¼	1548
NH 179.834	Auchlunachan	Lochbroom	½	1548
NG 802.313	Auchnadurach	Lochalsh	½	1548
NG 993.854	Auchnaschene	Lochbroom	¼	1548
NH 096.878	Auchtascailt	Lochbroom	½	1548

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NH 003.484	Achnashellach	Lochcarron	¼	1548
(obsolete)	Auchowlych	Lochalsh	½	1548
NG 841.276	Auchtertyre	Lochalsh	½	1548
NG 845.265	Avernish	Lochalsh	½	1548
NG 993.944	Badluchrach	Lochbroom	½	1548
NG 806.283	Balmacara	Lochalsh	1	1548
NF 718.698	Balranald	N. Uist	1	1505
(unid.)	Baronesmor	Skye	½	1508
NG 862.201	Beolary		½	1583
(obsolete)	Blairgarrok	Lochalsh	½	1548
(unid.)	Bleyat	Kishorn	1	1548
NF 742.181	Boisdale	S. Uist	1	c.1495
NF 914.810	Borve	N. Uist	1	1505
NF 663.013	Borve	Barra	1	1655
NM 673.933	Bourblach	Morar	½	1583
NG 35.39	Bracadale	Skye	4	1498
(obsolete)	Briatorich	Lochalsh	½	1548
NG 961.909	Cambusgannich	Lochbroom	¼	1548
NM 127.528	Caolas	Coll	1	1574
NF 712.075	Cille bharra	Barra	1	1655
NF 873.753	Clachan Sands	N. Uist	1	1505
(unid.)	Clamboyle	Glenelg	½	1583
NL 627.973	Coalis	Barra	1	1655
NG 886.277	Conchra	Lochalsh	¼	1548
NG 824.172	Corrary	Glenelg	½	1583
NG 823.331	Craig	Lochalsh	¼	1548
(unid.)	Croo		2	c.1508

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
(unid.)	Cumissaig	Kintail	1	c.1508
(obsolete)	Cuthok	Lochalsh	½	1548
(unid.)	Daachlatrik	Lochbroom	½	1548
NG 965.457	Dail Mhàrtuinn	Lochcarron	½	1548
NG 898.397	Dalchuirn	Lochcarron	½	1548
NG 875.886	Drumchork	Lochbroom	½	1548
NG 24.46	Duirinish	Skye	6	1498
NG 787.313	Duirinish	Lochalsh	½	1548
NH 094.878	Dundonnell	Lochbroom	½	1548
NG 413.743	Duntulm	Skye	1	1498
NH 016.925	Durnamurk	Lochbroom	⅛	1548
NH 454.398	Eskadale	Inverness-shire	1	c.1508
NG 846.337	Fernaig	Lochalsh	½	1548
NF 735.085	Fuday	Barra	1	1655
(obsolete)	Fynnyman	Lochalsh	½	1548
NM 66.85	Garmoran	Garmoran	8	1343
NH 394.614	Garve	Ross	½	c.1508
NH 004.174	Gleann Lichd	Kintail	1	c.1508
NG 936.188	Glen Shiel	Kintail	1	c.1508
NF 664.043	Greian	Barra	1	1655
NF 747.757	Griminish	N. Uist	1	1505
(obsolete)	Harse	Lochalsh	½	1548
NL 976.433	Heylipoll	Tiree	½	1390
(unid.)	Holf	N. Uist	1	1505
NG 753.296	Inchnairn	Lochalsh	½	1548
NG 860.820	Inverewe	Lochbroom	½	1548
NG 916.220	Inverinate	Kintail	1	c.1508
NG 893.794	Kernsary	Lochbroom	½	1548

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NH 398.609	Killin	Ross	1	c.1508
(unid.)	Killochir	Lochalsh	½	1548
NR 64.17	Killypole	Kintyre	12	c.1507
NG 490.670	Kilmartin	Skye	1	1508
NG 383.698	Kilvaxter	Skye	½	1561
(unid.)	Landaik	Glenelg	¼	1583
NH 173.902	Leckmelm	Lochbroom	¼	1548
(unid.)	Lekewuir	Glenelg	¼	1583
NG 884.238	Letterfearn	Kintail	1	c.1508
NB 375.258	Lochs	Lewis	1½	1590
NH 141.914	Logie	Lochbroom	¼	1548
NG 944.898	Little Gruinard	Lochbroom	¼	1548
NG 808.317	Lundie	Lochalsh	½	1548
NG 374.554	Lyndale	Skye	1	1498
(unid.)	MacCrunnel	Kintyre	2	1263
NM 691.978	Mallaigmore	Morar	½	1583
NM 689.977	Mallaigvaig	Morar	½	1583
NL 987.406	Mannel	Tiree	1	1390
NG 808.118	Mhialairidh	Glenelg	¼	1583
NG 38.26	Minginish	Skye	4	1498
NM 38.53	Mornish	Mull	2	1343
(unid.)	Nidene	Barra	1	1655
NG 857.270	Nostie	Lochalsh	⅛	1548
NF 732.680	Paible	N. Uist	1	1505
NF 732.684	Paibleagarry	N. Uist	1	1505
NG 808.274	Reraig	Lochalsh	¼	1548
NG 929.429	Revochan	Lochcarron	¼	1548
NG 916.304	Sallachy	Lochalsh	¼	1548

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NG 835.401	Sanachan	Kishorn	¼	1548
NG 908.915	Sand	Lochbroom	¼	1548
NF 727.754	Scolpaig	N. Uist	1	1505
NF 808.750	Sollas	N. Uist	1	1505
NG 863.355	Stromecastle	Kishorn	1	1548
NM 75.62	Sunart	Sunart	3	1392
NF 649.001	Tangusdale	Barra	1	1655
NL 95.44	Tiree	Tiree	3	1354
NM 737.344	Torosay	Mull	1	1390
(obsolete)	Torredaill	Lochcarron	½	1548
NG 876.837	Tournaig	Lochbroom	¼	1548
NG 40.53	Trotternish	Skye	2	1498
NB 215.335	Uig	Lewis	1	1590
NF 774.762	Valley	N. Uist	1	1505
(unid.)	Watna	N. Uist	1	1505

APPENDIX XV

ARACHORS LISTED IN DOCUMENTARY SOURCES BEFORE 1400

(All are in the area of the Lennox)

* refers to places which were listed as ploughgates but were more than likely arachors.

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NS 353.860	Achentullich	Luss	¼	c.1250
NS 233.878	Ach-na-cloich	Roseneath	¼	1225 x 70
(unid.)	Achynros*		½	1377
NS 417.866	Ardoch	Kilmaronock	¼	1333 x 64
NS 418.823	Auchincarroch	Bonhill	⅛	n.d.
NS 542.933	Auchintroig	Drymen	¼	1385 x 1425
NS 614.789	Balcorrach	Campsie	¼	1333 x 64
NS 573.743	Baldernock*	Baldernock	2	1238
NS 510.895	Balfunning	Drymen	¼	1272 x 90
(unid.)	Balletyduf	Campsie	⅛	1333 x 64
(unid.)	Ballinlochnach		¼	1333 x 64
NS 638.753	Balquharrage*	Baldernock	¼	1272 x 1333
(unid.)	Barnaferkylyn	Roseneath	¼	c.1285
NS 240.853	Barremman	Roseneath	¼	c.1285
NS 534.934	Blarindess	Drymen	¼	1385 x 1425
NS 468.884	Buchanan*	Buchanan	1	1333 x 64
NS 397.794	Buchnul	Bonhill	¼	1364 x 85
(unid.)	Cambrune		⅛	c.1373
NS 533.898	Camoquhill	Balfron	⅛	1272 x 1333
NS 345.774	Cardross*	Row	1	1306 x 29
(unid.)	Cartonvenach*		1	1225 x 70

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
(unid.)	Clouchbar	Roseneath	¼	c.1285
NS 493.911	Craigievern	Drymen	¼	1272 x 90
NS 506.856	Croy	Killearn	¼	1272 x 1333
NS 488.712	Dalmuir*	New Kilpatrick	¼	1272 x 1333
NS 347.847	Dumfin	Luss	¼	c.1250
NS 236.934	Finnart*	Rhu	¼	1272 x 1333
NS 477.855	Finnich	Killearn	⅛	1333 x 64
NS 494.848	Finnich Glen	Campsie	⅛	1333 x 64
NS 505.867	Garcher	Killearn	⅛	1342 x 62
NS 518.944	Gartclach	Drymen	¼	1385 x 1425
NS 427.862	Gartocharn	Kilmaronock	¼	1225 x 70
NS 489.911	Gilgirnane	Drymen	⅛	1272 x 1333
NS 318.853	Inverleveran	Luss	¼	c.1250
NS 552.947	Kepdouri	Drymen	⅛	1300 x 30
NS 330.798	Keppoch	Row	¼	1353
NS 306.869	Kilbride	Rhu	¼	1225 x 70
NS 636.759	Kincaid*	Campsie	1	1238
NS 525.864	Kynerine	Killearn	½	c.1248
NS 264.848	Lettrowal*	Row	½	1333 x 64
NS 36.92	Luss	Luss	2	1225 x 70
NS 232.897	Mambeg	Roseneath	¼	1214 x 48
NS 231.874	Mammore	Roseneath	¼	1214 x 48
NS 444.904	Milton	Buchanan	⅛	1364 x 85
NS 634.767	Muckcroft*	Campsie	1	c.1248
NS 558.768	Mugdock	Campsie	¼	1272 x 1333
NS 603.877	Nentbolg	Fintry	½	1225 x 70
(unid.)	Polnegulan*		1	1259

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NS 404.869	Portnellan	Kilmaronock	¼	1333 x 64
NS 505.858	Renrich	Killearn	⅛	1342 x 62
NS 389.950	Sallochie*	Buchanan	1	1333 x 64
NS 564.793	Strathblane	Strathblane	¾	1272 x 1333-
(unid.)	Tomfyne	Campsie	⅛	1333 x 64
NS 382.818	Tullichewan	Bonhill	¼	1333 x 64
NS 416.859	Tullochan	Kilmaronock	¼	1333 x 64

APPENDIX XVI

PLOUGHGATES LISTED IN DOCUMENTARY SOURCES BEFORE 1400

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NT 196.853	Aberdour	Fife	½	1182 x 83
NS 900.876	Airth	Stirlingshire	2	c.1130
NJ 557.283	Ardlair	Aberdeenshire	2	1189 x 90
NS 503.653	Arkleston	Renfrewshire	1	1225 x 27
NT 925.615	Ayton	Berwickshire	2½	c.1300
NO 412.056	Balcormo	Fife	½	1195
(obsolete)	Balecunene	Perthshire	1	1189 x 95
(unid.)	Balekelefen	Angus	1	1178 x 80
NT 487.781	Ballincrieff	E. Lothian	3½	n.d.
NT 252.904	Balwearie	Fife	1	1358
NO 196.407	Banchory	Perthshire	3	c.1120
NT 559.699	Bara	E. Lothian	½	c.1340
NS 973.680	Bathgate	W. Lothian	1	1153 x 65
NU 000.532	Berwick	Berwickshire	1	c.1120
NT 036.718	Binning	Linlithgowshire	1	1207
NT 790.391	Birgham	Berwickshire	½	pre 1165
NO 175.455	Blairgowrie	Perthshire	2½	1235
NT 508.702	Bolton	Haddingtonshire	½	n.d.
NT 122.696	Bonnington	Midlothian	½	n.d.
NT 003.803	Borrowstoun	Linlithgowshire	1	1230 x 50
(unid.)	Brakanwra	Dumfriesshire	½	1249 x 86
NJ 090.572	Burgie	Elginshire	1	1153 x 65
NT 078.674	Calder	W. Lothian	½	1154 x 60
NO 605.114	Cambo	Fife	½	1171 x 74
NS 601.576	Carmunnock	Lanarkshire	½	1177 x 88
NS 984.464	Carnwath	Lanarkshire	1	1180 x 89
NT 020.815	Carriden	Linlithgowshire	2	c.1148

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NO 483.077	Cassingray	Fife	½	1189 x 95
NO 200.233	Cleon	Perthshire	3	c.1120
NT 901.654	Coldingham	Berwickshire	10	c.1300
NX 997.697	Conheath	Dumfriesshire	½	1175 x 90
NO 716.712	Conveth	Mearns	4	1189 x c.1193
NT 260.875	Craigencalt	Fife	1	1358
NS 428.324	Craigie	Kyle	1	1177
NT 290.720	Craigmillar	Edinburgh	1	c.1130
NT 690.248	Crailing	Roxburghshire	1½	1147 x 50
NT 698.218	Crailinghall	Roxburghshire	1	1165 x 70
NS 955.208	Crawford	Lanarkshire	1	1165 x 70
NO 412.163	Dairsie	Fife	1	1165 x 69
NX 897.924	Dalgarnock	Dumfriesshire	1	1209 x 11
NO 351.302	Dargie	Carse of Gowrie	½	1162 x 64
NT 291.724	Duddingston	Midlothian	½	n.d.
NH 755.435	Duldavach (now Culdoich)	Inverness-shire	½	1172 x 74
NX 975.758	Dumfries	Dumfriesshire	2	1175 x 90
NS 366.347	Dundonald	Kyle	½	1183
NS 795.834	Dunipace	Stirlingshire	½	c.1200
NO 204.248	Durdie	Perthshire	3	c.1120
NT 575.382	Earlston	Berwickshire	1	c.1160
NO 217.360	East Kinnochtry	Perthshire	1	c.1120
NY 192.744	Ecclefechan	Dumfriesshire	2	1249
(obsolete)	Edmundiston	Haddingtonshire	4	1153 x 65
NT 738.374	Ednam	Roxburghshire	1	c.1105
NT 822.552	Edrom	Berwickshire	1	c.1300
NX 492.476	Eggerness	Wigtownshire	2	1189 x 93

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NJ 312.557	Eglismaline (later Inchberie)	Elginshire	½	1178 x 79
NS 205.555	Fairlie	Cunningham	1	1200 x 34
NO 224.276	Fingask	Perthshire	1	c.1120
NT 915.515	Fishwick	Berwickshire	2	c.1300
NO 224.378	Foderance (now Lintrose)	Angus	1	c.1120
NT 773.492	Fogo	Berwickshire	1	1159 x 60
NS 344.496	Giffin	Ayrshire	½	c.1200
NT 293.684	Gilmerton	Midlothian	1	1165 x 73
ND 12.42	Gourdie	Angus	10	c.1120
NT 788.362	Hadden	Roxburghshire	1	1165 x 66
NT 574.763	Hailes	E. Lothian	1	n.d.
NT 547.203	Hassendean	Roxburghshire	1	1163 x 65
NT 737.414	Hassington	Berwickshire	3	1214 x 47
NT 977.527	Haughs of Yarford	Berwickshire	½	n.d.
NT 713.307	Heiton	Roxburghshire	1	1152 x 53
NT 833.406	Hirsell	Berwickshire	1	pre 1165
NT 705.415	Hume	Berwickshire	2	1159 x 60
NO 110.296	Innerbuist	Perthshire	5	c.1120
NO 34.30	Invergowrie	Angus	3	c.1120
NO 061.160	Invermay	Perthshire	½	1183
NO 382.200	Kedlock	Fife	1	1153 x 65
NS 412.413	Kilmaurs	Cunningham	½	c.1170
NO 312.299	Kingoodie	Carse of Gowrie	½	1153 x 62
NO 245.282	Kinnaird	Perthshire	1	1183
NS 886.849	Kinnaird	Stirlingshire	1	1189 x 93
NS 982.806	Kinneil	Linlithgowshire	1	1165 x 70

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NX 882.872	Kirkbride	Nithsdale	1	1165 x 74
NS 657.742	Kirkintilloch	Dunbartonshire	½	ante 1195
NT 114.668	Kirknewton	Midlothian	½	1388
NT 969.573	Lamberton Upper	Berwickshire	⅓	1338
(obsolete)	Langelaw	E. Lothian	½	1189
NY 365.845	Langholm	Dumfriesshire	1	1249 x 86
NT 850.408	Lennel	Berwickshire	½	pre 1165
NT 593.307	Lessudden	Roxburghshire	½	1165 x 71
NO 33.33	Liff	Angus	6	c.1120
NT 150.516	Linton Roderick (now W. Linton)	Peeblesshire	½	c.1160
NT 021.687	Livingstone	W. Lothian	½	c.1130
NO 416.266	Longforgan	Perthshire	½	1163
NT 875.692	Lumsdaine	Berwickshire	1	c.1300
NT 670.316	Makerstoun	Roxburghshire	1	1159 x 60
NT 614.303	Maxton	Roxburghshire	1	1189 x c.1193
NO 374.247	Melchrethre	Fife	1	1159 x 64
NT 530.276	Midholm	Roxburghshire	½	1160 x 80
NT 083.052	Moffat	Dumfriesshire	½	c.1218
NO 771.795	Mondynes	Mearns	1	1213
NT 773.249	Morebattle	Roxburghshire	1	c.1124
NX 887.997	Morton	Nithsdale	1	1173 x 77
NT 818.209	Mow	Roxburghshire	1	1173 x 77
NO 230.220	Muirhouse	Carse of Gowrie	1	1214 x 58
NT 345.637	Newbattle	Midlothian	2	1124 x 40
NT 335.708	Newton	Midlothian	½	c.1150
NO 300.414	Newtyle	Angus	1	1198 x 99
NT 674.258	Nisbet	Roxburghshire	½	1165 x 70

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NT 146.722	Norton	Midlothian	2	1371
NT 804.695	Oldcambus	Berwickshire	½	1212 x 14
NT 697.184	Oxnam	Roxburghshire	1	1152 x 53
NT 495.535	Oxton	Berwickshire	5	1201 or 1203 x 05
NS 49.61	Paisley	Renfrewshire	2	1163 x 65
NT 254.407	Peebles	Peeblesshire	1	c.1124
NT 284.718	Peffer Burn	E. Lothian	1	1153 x 59
NY 210.743	Pennersax	Dumfriesshire	2	1194 x 1214
NS 398.278	Penuld (now Foulton)	Renfrewshire	2	1177
(obsolete)	Petduuedi	Perthshire	1	1189 x 95
(obsolete)	Petmacduuegile	Perthshire	1	1189 x 95
(obsolete)	Petmalduith	Perthshire	1	1189 x 95
NS 954.427	Pettinain	Lanarkshire	1	c.1150
NO 570.070	Pitcorthie	Fife	½	1165 x 74
NO 578.134	Pitmilly	Fife	1	c.1172
NT 284.992	Pitteuchar	Fife	1	c.1150
NT 395.745	Preston	E. Lothian	1	1195 x 1203
NT 527.798	Prora	E. Lothian	1	1165 x 74
NJ 676.284	Rane (now Tocher)	Aberdeenshire	½	before 1200
NO 180.454	Rattray	Perthshire	2	1177 x 1204
NT 775.376	Redden	Roxburghshire	1	c.1145
NT 824.653	Renton	Berwickshire	½	1246
NT 165.483	Romanno	Peeblesshire	1	1165
(obsolete)	Roskellin	Carse of Gowrie	1	1183
NT 613.203	Ruecastle	Roxburghshire	1	1165 x 70
NT 480.678	Saltoun	E. Lothian	1	1153 x 65
(obsolete)	Seafield	Fife	1	1306 x 29

NG Map Ref.	Name	Area	Size	Date
NJ 543.277	Seggieden	Aberdeenshire	2	1178 x 85
NT 470.290	Selkirk	Selkirkshire	½	1153 x 62
NT 648.365	Smailholm	Berwickshire	1	1153 x 65
NT 759.353	Sprouston	Roxburghshire	1	c.1120
NS 790.940	Stirling	Stirlingshire	1	c.1125
NT 835.474	Swinton	Berwickshire	1	1203 x 07
NJ 484.045	Tarland	Aberdeenshire	1	1170 x 71
NT 987.484	Thankerton	Lanarkshire	½	1177 x 85
NY 034.784	Torthorwald	Dumfriesshire	½	1214 x 49
NT 410.730	Tranent	E. Lothian	1	1195 x 1203
NT 331.346	Traquhair	Peeblesshire	1	c.1124
(obsolete)	Tyri	Fife	1	1306 x 29
NS 207.484	West Kilbride	Cunningham	½	1199
NO 172.347	Whitefield	Perthshire	½	1195 x 99
(obsolete)	Wodefield	Fife	1	1358

APPENDIX XVII

RENDERS LEVIED FROM DAVACHS BEFORE 1400

(i) Cash

Date	Size of Davach	Cash Render	Royal/Non-Royal	Source
1187 x 1203	½	2/-	nr	Moray Reg., no. 16.
1224 x 33	1	20/-	nr	Moray Reg., no. 76.
1224 x 42	½	½ merk	nr	Moray Reg., no. 27.
1226	1½	20/-	nr	Moray Reg., no. 31.
1232	½	3 merks	nr	Moray Reg., no. 80.
1232	1	3 merks	nr	C.A. Chrs., i, no. 38.
1244 x 60	1/6	½ merk	nr	A.B. Coll., 338.
1270/1 x 1273/4	1 1/5	2½ merks	nr	C.A. Chrs., no. 10.
1275 x 92/5	1	2 merks	nr	Fraser, Cromartie, ii, 444.
1309	½	4/-	nr	Moray Reg., no. 135.
1334	½	4 merks	nr	Moray Reg., no. 138.
1336 x 72	2	2 merks	nr	Spalding Misc, iv, 125-6.
1342 x 57	3	11 merks	nr	SRO RH1/2/111

(ii) Knight/serjeanty service

Date	Size of Davach	Kt./Serjeanty Render	Royal/Non-Royal	Source
1209 x 11	5	1 serjeant	r	RRS, ii, no. 497
ante 1214	3	1 serjeant	nr	A.B. Coll., 407-9.

Date	Size of Davach	Kt./Serjeanty Render	Royal/Non-Royal	Source
c.1214	1	1/10 knight	nr	SRO RH 1/2/33
1360	16	1 knight	nr	Fraser, Sutherland, iii, no. 19

(iii) Blenche-ferme

Date	Size of Davach	Blenche-ferme Render	Royal/Non-Royal	Source
1199	1	1 lb. pepper or 12 pennies	nr	Arb. Lib., i, no. 305
1224 x 31	2	1 lb. pepper	nr	Moray Reg., no. 259
1224 x 42	1	1 lb. pepper	nr	Moray Reg., no. 108
c.1239	1	1 pair of iron spurs	nr	SHS Misc.,iv, 316, no. 12.
1271	1	1 penny	nr	Fraser, Douglas, iii, no. 286
1272	2	2 red sparrowhawks or 2/-	nr	Fraser, Douglas, iii, no. 6.
1296 x 1320	½	1 penny	nr	SRO GD 4/224
c.1300	3	1 penny	nr	SHS Misc., iv, 324, no. 18.
1333	4	1 pair white gloves	nr	SRO GD 297/165
1333 x 50	1	1 pair white gloves/ 3 pennies	nr	SRO GD 93/2
1342	10	1 penny	nr	The Clan Donald, ii, App. p. 744.
1350	½	1 pair Parisian gloves	nr	SRO GD 93/4
1350 x 71	1	1 pair white gloves/ 1 penny	nr	SRO GD 93/5
1357 x 62	1½	1 penny	nr	Fraser, Grant, iii, no. 15.
1359	½	1 penny/1 pair of white gloves	nr	RRS, vi, no. 213
1367	½	1 penny	nr	RRS, vi, no 377.

Date	Size of Davach	Blenche-ferme Render	Royal/Non-Royal	Source
1369	1	1 pair white gloves/1 penny	nr	SRO GD 93/6
1369 x 70	½	1 lb. pepper/ cumin	nr	GD 297/176
1379	1	1 pair white gloves/2 pennies	nr	SRO GD 93/11
1381 x 84	2	1 penny	nr	RMS, i, no. 789
1398	1	1 penny	nr	SRO GD 297/179

APPENDIX XVIII

RENDERS LEVIED FROM PENNYLANDS BEFORE 1400

(i) Cash

Date	Size of Pennyland	Cash Render	Royal/Non-Royal	Source
1306 x 29	5	2 merks	r	RMS, i, App. 2, Index A, Mss[7], no. 348.
1306 x 29	2	33/4d	r	RMS, i, App. 2, Index A, Mss[1], no. 342.
1306 x 29	1	20/-	r	RMS, i, App. 2, Index A, Mss[9], no. 340.
1323	5	£10	r	RMS, i, App. p.459, no. 64.

(ii) Knight/Serjeanty service

Date	Size of Pennyland	Kt./Serjeanty Render	Royal/Non-Royal	Source
c.1240	51	½ knight	r	Highland Papers, ii, 121, no. 1.
1300 x 21	11	1 serjeant	nr	SRO RH 1/2/93
1306 x 29	50	¼ knight	r	Highland Papers, iv, 195.
1306 x 29	2	½ serjeant and 6 pennies	r	RMS, i, App. 2, Index A, Mss[4], no. 335.
1306 x 29	½	1 serjeant	r	RMS, i, App. 2, Index A, Mss[8], no. 339.
1306 x 29	5¼	4 serjeants	r	RMS, i, App. 2, Index A, Mss[7], no. 317.
1319	2	2 serjeants	r	SRO GD 212/Box 11/ 1/23.
1328	2	1 serjeant	r	SRO GD 39/1/4
1329	4	2 serjeants	r	Book of Mackay, 370, no. 1.

Date	Size of Pennyland	Kt./Serjeanty Render	Royal/Non-Royal	Source
1306 x 29	1	1 penny	r	RMS, i, App. 2, Index B, Mss, no. 108

(iii) Blenche-ferme

Date	Size of Pennyland	Blenche-ferme Render	Royal/Non-Royal	Source
1323	3¼	3 competent spears	nr	RMS, i, App. i p. 458, no. 63
1338	10½	1 pair spurs	nr	Fraser, Keir, 198, no. 2.
1353	14	1 penny	nr	Fraser, Menteith, 236, no. 26
c.1370	2	1 pair silver spurs	nr	SRO RH 1/2/131

APPENDIX XIX

RENDERS LEVIED FROM ARACHORS BEFORE 1400

(i) Cash

Date	Size of Arachor	Cash Render	Royal/Non-Royal	Source
1214 x 48	½	2 merks	nr	SRO GD 198/217
1238	3*	½ merk	nr	Lenn. Cart., no. 29.
c.1248	½	3 merks	nr	HMC 3rd report, App. p. 386, no. 8.
1272 x 1333	¼	10/-	nr	Lenn. Cart., no. 82

(ii) Knight/Serjeanty service

Date	Size of Arachor	Kt./Serjeanty Render	Royal/Non-Royal	Source
1225 x 70	1*	1/7 knight	nr	Lenn. Cart., no. 24.
1225 x 70	¼	1/32 knight	nr	Lenn. Cart., no. 25.
1225 x 70	¼	1/20 knight	nr	Lenn. Cart., 91, no. 1.
1272 x 1333	¾	1/24 knight	nr	Lenn. Cart., no. 37.

(iii) Blench-ferme

Date	Size of Arachor	Blenche-ferme Render	Royal/Non-Royal	Source
1225 x 70	½	2 lb. wax	nr	Lenn. Cart., no. 33
1272 x 90	½	1 penny	nr	Lenn. Cart., no. 43.
c.1285	¾	1 penny	nr	HMC 2nd report, App., p. 166, no. 14.
1390 x 1400	⅛	20 pennies	nr	HMC 3rd report, App. p. 388, no. 38.

* denotes use of the term ploughgate.

APPENDIX XX

RENDERS LEVIED FROM PLOUGHGATES BEFORE 1400

(i) Cash

Date	Size of Ploughgate	Cash Render	Royal/Non-Royal	Source
1160 x 80	½	8/-	nr	Kel. Lib., i, no. 117.
1172 x 99	1	1 merk	nr	Abdn. Reg., i, 13.
1199	1	20/-	r	RRS, ii, no. 422.
1209 x 38	1	1 merk	nr	NLS Ms. Adv. 15.1.18 no. 20.
1210 x 33	½	½ merk	nr	SRO RH 1/2/32
1225 x 35	1	½ merk	nr	Pais. Reg., 76.
c.1233	1	5/-	nr	ND, App. p. 100, no. 576.
1249 x 86	1	3/-	nr	Melr. Lib., i, no. 338.
1266	1	3 merks	nr	Kel. Lib., i, no. 48.
1276	2	1 merk	nr	Abdn. Reg., i, 227.
1286	2	4 merks	r	NLS Ms. Adv. 20.3.6. f. 144
1299	1	1 merk	nr	Arb. Lib., i, no. 320.
c.1300	⅛	10/-	nr	Kel. Lib., ii, 457.
c.1300	1	5 merks	nr	Kel. Lib., ii, 459
c.1300	1	7s. 8d.	nr	Cold. Corr., App. p. cii.
c.1300	1½	11s. 6d.	nr	Cold. Corr., App. p. cii.
c.1300	2	15s. 4d.	nr	Cold. Corr., App. p. cii.

(ii) Knight/Serjeanty service

Date	Size of Ploughgate	Kt./Serjeanty Render	Royal/Non-Royal	Source
1153 x 65	2	1 serjeant	r	RRS, i, no. 300.
1167 x 71	2	1 serjeant	r	RRS, ii, no. 45.
1189 x c.1193	4	½ knight	r	RRS, ii, no. 345.
1194 x 1214	2	⅛ knight	nr	Fraser, Annandale, i, no. 3.
1198	1⅝	1 serjeant	r	RRS, ii, no. 404.
1205	½	1 serjeant	r	RRS, ii, no. 469.
c.1206	½	1/10 of ½ knight.	nr	SRO Dupplin Charter Chest no. 121.
1214 x 47	2	1/30 knight	nr	Melr. Lib., i, no. 233.
c.1230	2	1 serjeant	nr	HMC 2nd report, App. p. 166, no. 6.

(iii) Blenche-ferme

Date	Size of Ploughgate	Blenche-ferme Render	Royal/Non-Royal	Source
1153 x 65	½	gilt spurs	r	RRS, i, no. 295.
1172 x 99	1	1 lb. frankincense	nr	Abdn. Reg., i, 13.
pre 1200	½	1 lb. frankincense	nr	Abdn. Reg., i, 10.
1214 x 49	½	1 lb. pepper	nr	Melr. Lib., i, no. 204.
1249 x 86	1½	12 pennies	nr	Mort. Reg., ii, no. 8.
1283 x 98	½	2 gilt spurs or 6 pennies	nr	W. Dillon, 'Three Ayrshire Charters', CAAS, 7 (1966), 32-4.
1284	½	1 lb. pepper	r	Highland Papers, ii, 124, no. 2.

Date	Size of Ploughgate	Blenche-ferme Render	Royal/Non-Royal	Source
1299 x 1325	½	1 pair white gloves/3 pennies	nr	Moray Reg., no. 134.
c.1318	1	12 pennies	nr	SRO GD 86/4
c.1358 x 60	1	1 penny	nr	SRO GD 1/17/4
1366	½	1 pair white gloves/2 pennies	r	RMS, i, no. 257.

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